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Important for understanding how under-developed countries are brought into the modern community of nations this book also demonstrates the importance of the human element in determining the rate at which scientific improvements can be applied in communities which have lived for centuries according to ancient hallowed patterns

Cultural Pattern and Technical Change was prepared by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and edited by Dr Margaret Mead Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History and author of such distinguished books as *Coming of Age in Samoa* *Malinowski and Female Grooming Up in New Guinea* and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*—all available in Mentor editions A special introduction for this edition was prepared by Dr Mead

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CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE

{From the Tensions and Technology Series}

A Manual prepared by
The World Federation for Mental Health
and edited by MARGARET MEAD



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PREFACE

The words *technical change* have come to symbolize for people all over the world a hope that is new to mankind. Through the eyes of most of the peoples of the world have lived close to

visions of hunger and want which would be brought about by urbanization by mechanization by western

visions of hunger and want which would be brought about by urbanization by mechanization by western

The conflict of these two points of view—between those whose imagination is caught by the possibility of releasing

mankind from the spectre of famine and those who insist that man does not live by bread alone—finds its echo in the questions that are asked whenever technical assistance is mentioned. Eyes light up with the vision that is offered. For the first time in history there is a possibility that no man need go well fed
hungry that indeed
though he broke
on pieces it would
But then faces fall
it to be done—in

human terms? Granted that we know the technical answers
how to redistribute land in units which can support the use of

— — — —

epidemic and endemic diseases in the world. Granted that we know all this what will be the cost in terms of the human spirit? How much destruction of old values disintegration of personality alienation of parents from children of husbands from wives of students from teachers of neighbour from neighbour of the spirit of man from the faith and style of his traditional culture must there be? How slow must we go? How fast can we go?

This is the question which is repeated in the smallest village forum where people who were yesterday illiterate today argue

primary one as political leaders plan in terms of change or of resistance to change as young technicians choose between a secure but uninteresting post at home and an adventure in tropics or desert as families or communities skimp and save to send their young people away to learn—and bring back—the new skills

It is for this reason that a manual on how to introduce a new food crop a new system of public health a new system of wage labour into some remote part of Africa or Asia is of significance to the man in the street in New York or London Topeka or Coventry Vancouver or Wellington or Brisbane. He himself will not in ninety nine cases out of a hundred come close to the problem of the people of a faraway village who prefer to sleep on the ground and so are afraid of hospital beds or who fear to sleep with others over their heads and so are afraid of two-story hospital buildings. Yet this book is about problems just like these. How does the expert member of an international technical assistance team bring to a people the help they have asked for? How can the new changes be

introduced with the least hazard to the mental health of those who make them? These are *munutiae* of expert skills which the average reader will not have to exercise—in Southeast Asia. They are nevertheless relevant to him—in two ways

As a member of a modern nation he faces every day
~ ~ ~ ~ ~ which the expert is
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New York
October 31 1954

MARGARET MEAD

mankind from the spectre of famine and those who insist that man does not live by bread alone—finds its echo in the questions that are asked whenever technical assistance is mentioned. Eyes light up with the vision that is offered. For the first time in history there is a possibility that no man need go well fed to his rest knowing that his neighbour is hungry that indeed so many of his neighbours are hungry that though he broke the bread from his own table into a million pieces it would bring no real relief for a day for an hour. But then faces fall as people ask the second question *How is it to be done*—in human terms? Granted that we know the technical answers how to redistribute land in units which can support the use of modern agricultural machinery how to locate industrial plants in relation to population and resources how to utilize the local food supplies to provide a nutritional diet how to reorganize town planning and water use so as to avoid the principal epidemic and endemic diseases in the world. Granted that we know all this what will be the cost in terms of the human spirit? How much destruction of old values disintegration of personality alienation of parents from children of husbands from wives of students from teachers of neighbour from neighbour of the spirit of man from the faith and style of his traditional culture must there be? How slow must we go? How fast can we go?

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the help they have asked for. HOW CAN WE DO

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I INTRODUCTION

This survey is directed toward the implications for the mental health of the peoples of the world who are involved in purposes of introduction of technical change. It is therefore concerned with two new developments: the purposive attempt to cultivate mental health and the purposive attempt to introduce ^{or} ^{to} ^{be} ^{been} ^{concerned} ⁱⁿ ^{explicit}

of technology the political practices the small intimate habits of daily life such as the way of preparing or eating food or of hushing a child to sleep as well as the method of electing a prime minister or changing the constitution This survey is drawn from field work among

United States society, and the profound recorded changes in the position in relation to orientation in the

the ultimate goal of mental health to help men to live with their fellows in one world

Technical change is also as old as civilization and since time

animals writing the use of steam the factory assembly line, and the internal-combustion engine have been diffused from one country to another. Relationships of relative dominance between two peoples, population balances, dynasties, and whole religious systems have been upset by some change in technology just as the inventions which underlie technological change have themselves arisen from changing conceptions of nature and of man.

Nor is the attempt to control technological change new. monarchs have tried to introduce new practices among their peoples, merchants have attempted to keep within national borders some valuable technical process like the weaving of cloth, conquerors have educated the conquered so that they

niques which will increase production and conserve natural resources, of nutritional practices which will improve the well-being of a people, of public health practices which will lower the death rate, the incidence of epidemic and endemic disease, and rescue individuals now doomed to physical and

ternational governmental and international voluntary and national governmental and national voluntary agencies are all playing a role. This survey is designed to provide materials which will sensitize all those concerned with this world-wide task to the mental health implications of such introduced

generation family it may be much less severe in societies based on large extended families like the Zadruga of the Balkans or (V) it is still not possible to say that a given culture is because

champion mental health is a new approach
placed emphasis on educational and
preventive measures rather than upon clinical and corrective
ones. The Expert Committee on Mental Health of the World
Health Organization recommends

The Committee therefore holds the view that it is only by the pre-
vention of psychiatric knowledge that mental health
can be most effectively be solved

The survey therefore will deal with the ways in which
changed agricultural conditions help to create new public health
problems. New methods of child and maternal health care
development and education can be introduced so that the cul-

sometimes other types of relationship develop. Habits of pre-

position of someone who cannot read in a society where some people can read is very different from being a member of a society in which no one can read. A change from a monarchical to a republican form of government affects not only those who were heir in the monarchy but also the status of all those who were defined as commoners and monarchical attitudes

which one's own body is perceived with varying degrees of

insult or a challenge one may learn to respond to new insults or punishments or merely react with terror to unusual situations to prefer death to dishonour or dishonour to inconvenience. Where loss of a biological parent may be a very severe trauma in a society organized on the basis of the small two-

are introduced. It is definitely not a blue print, not a handbook
 -- ^{we} to such questions as When

account.

The survey is not directed toward policy making but might
 -- ^{at} ^h ^t

involved in reducing the death rate while the birth rate remains
 high. But it does provide materials showing how interde-
 pendence changes as they must within a cul-
 ture each aspect of which is inextricably related to every other
 because they are embodied in the organized set of habits of
 the living human beings who constitute that society. It is not
 directed in the problems of local governmental structure but
 it does offer material in the way in which different types of
 social organization provide different types of avenues for

is respect for the culture of the changing society necessary but

ture will be disrupted as little as possible and so that what ever disruption does occur can either be compensated for or channelled into constructive developments for the future. New industrial practices for example may make it necessary for peasant populations to move to the city such a removal will contain many elements of possible disruption and disorienta

Thus Puerto Ricans, who clung to their traditional food habits with great conservatism in Puerto Rico became one of the groups most amenable to change in New York City where every condition of food purchase and food preparation differed from that to which they had been accustomed. On the other hand, members of some cultures will become more conservative in certain ways when faced with strange living-conditions and in such cases it may be more important to provide against pressure being brought in those areas of life where the conservatism is reactive and protective than to attempt to use new conditions as leverage for change.

The emphasis then will be on facilitating harmonious

lives.

FOR WHOM THIS SURVEY IS INTENDED

This survey is intended for the use of individuals—experts policy makers specialists technicians of all sorts chiefs of missions and teams members of ministries of health educa

cal assistance agreements made with the Food and Agriculture Organization such diverse skills are called for as (in an agreement with the Government of Saudi Arabia) one irrigation expert on the design of wells the Gov
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wool and meat products in unpopulated
 altitudes

This brief selection could be amplified in many directions, but even the smallest sample makes clear what a diversity of skilled personnel some of whom may be inexperienced in working in other cultures is to be drawn into this world wide

tance of taking social change into account of meeting the needs of the peoples involved in the programme of obtaining

also understanding of how those habits and practices which must be changed can be changed this is an important skill for the foreign members of teams which come into a country. Those within the country who have received a modern technical education will often be so imbued with the technical superiority of the measures to be introduced that they will need reinforcement from the outside team if they are to be patient with their countrymen whose resistance to change may well seem reprehensible to them. The objectivity which combines respect for the values of another culture a determination to bring about change in ways which promote the mental health of the population and a certain amount of detachment from

gestions and disastrous missteps of plans that misfired and plans that succeeded inexplicably which make up the delicate certainty of the experienced expert. This survey is designed to provide the new-comer to the field with a part of what such long experience affords—to help the newly appointed minister the newly appointed administrator the soil specialist the public health physician the nutritionist or the specialist in transportation. The descriptions of various experts requested in the technical assistance contracts demonstrate vividly from

house to the land in the shapes of the fields in the relationship between temple or church or mosque and the village street in the calendar and the vocabulary.

So there is the possibility that the International Labour Office may appoint for Indonesia a general expert on social and labour questions for Pakistan two experts on employment services and two experts on vocational training for Ecuador three experts in the fields of technical training in general craft training and training in machine shop work.

ment and to his assistance to advise on science teaching and on the best methods for the popularization of science and on the technical

of technical assistance is presented to them initiated on a world scale by the far sightedness and awareness often of a single administrative official

THE FORM OF THE MANUAL

The survey has been organized so that any section can be read independently of the others but these sections have been placed in the order which seemed to the editorial staff most useful if the survey were to be read throughout. The mem-

bers were born and educated in Europe and three have spent years in field work among non Western peoples. In the preparation of the survey there has been a conscious attempt to

of a technical assistance team in the field. This has been done following the principle that each step in any operation must have a form congruent with each later step if disturbance in functioning due to contrasts between hierarchical and team types of organization is to be avoided.

Section II consists of five long studies of particular cultures selected to present as much diversity as possible within the limits of space and available material. "Greece" has been written by an anthropologist who is Greek by birth and edu-

own particular cultures. The Iiv of Nigeria is based on a published study of a formal ethnographic type. Palau is the

and Burma. The study is with members of the

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a study in the con

servatism of a Catholic Spanish-speaking people in the midst of an English-speaking industrially oriented society. Together they should provide the reader or student with some conception of the diverse value systems to which specific changes must be related and which themselves change in pattern as new technologies are introduced.

... cultural studies dealing with

cross-cultural treatments are also designed to suggest that specialized experts may approach an understanding of the way in which their specialty can be integrated with a whole culture.

Section IV is based upon material provided by psychiatrists who have worked in situations which combined clinical psychiatric procedure with inter-disciplinary research here the materials from the other sections are discussed from a more specifically mental health point of view This chapter has a dual purpose to accent the technical mental health aspects of the entire question of social change and to acquaint those un

and cultural integrity are high level abstractions which must be translated into conceptions of different kinds of healthy personalities who live within and embody cultural patterns which express different aspirations different designs for living

There is one important aspect of this problem which has been purposely omitted from this survey the question of the extent to which the special preoccupations and value systems of the members of international teams drawn from Western

groups in British or American Netherlands or French culture as the case may be should come from inside these societies Two volumes directed to the problems of American

States or peoples in other parts of the world

This survey on the other hand has been prepared for use at the international level the point of view has been a world

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point of view and the emphasis has been upon the problems to which the professional skills and insights of the mental
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II STUDIES OF WHOLE CULTURES

BURMA

The culture of the Burmese is presented here ■ it was represented in the villages in the early part of this century. Contact with the Western world began with the Burmese wars against Arakan, Manipur and Assam, which brought the Burmese
n— The direct connection with a

of social organization within which the peoples of the world have been accustomed to operate. The reader must keep in mind the way in which this diagram would appear to Burmese, Indian, Greek, Spanish American, Russian.

There are two main kinds of sources of the knowledge of Burmese culture.

cal medicine etc. The discussion on Fundamental Education in a sense cross-cuts the others as programmes combining literacy with learning new ways of living have been found to be

atric procedure with inter-disciplinary research here the materials from the other sections are discussed from a more specifically mental health point of view. This chapter has a dual purpose to accent the technical mental health aspects of the entire question of social change and to acquaint those unfamiliar with the mental health approach with a psychiatrically oriented phrasing of the issues.

The concluding section deals with some of the long term problems involved in purposive social change. Mental health and cultural integrity are high level abstractions which must be translated into conceptions of different kinds of healthy personalities who live within and embody cultural patterns which express different aspirations different designs for living.

There is one important aspect of this problem which has been purposely omitted from this survey the question of the extent to which the special preoccupations and value systems of the members of international teams drawn from Western cultures or educated in Western values affect the work which

groups in British or American technicians of French culture as the case may be should come from inside these societies. Two volumes directed to the problems of American technicians administering programmes of change are in preparation. These will contain a careful consideration of the special set of values which American experts carry with them into other societies whether these are enclaves within the United States or peoples in other parts of the world.

This survey on the other hand has been prepared for use at the international level the point of view has been a world

1954 The first study (Edward H. Spicer 1952) is the first done with the United States in the world with the help of the United States. The second study as yet unpublished (C. D. Arenberg) will deal with problems

point of view and the emphasis has been upon the problems in which the professional skills and insights of the mental health approach could contribute. It leaves to each national group the task of making a conscious evaluation of how well its own nationals are now equipped to carry out a programme involving a deepened respect for the values of all the diverse co-operating peoples of the world.

II STUDIES OF WHOLE CULTURES

BURMA

But very few descriptions of conditions since Burma became an independent state on 4 January 1948 were available at the time this chapter was written. When the past tenets used, traditional Burmese culture as it was believed to be by scholars and administrators who experienced it at the turn of the century is referred to. However in a few instances contemporary records have been introduced.

If social organization within which the peoples of the world have been accustomed to operate. The reader may keep in mind the way in which this program would appear to Burmese, Turkish, Greek, Spanish American, Polish, etc.

There are two main kinds of sources for the knowledge of Burmese culture. The first is the traditional knowledge of the Burmese people.

The emphasis in this chapter will be upon the impact of the West—Western law and Western economic practices—on an ancient Asiatic civilization sophisticated in religious and social practices but technologically simple. Under contact with the West profound changes such as immigration and commercial cultivation of land were initiated and the pressure of po-

arbitration the introduction of government by legal precedent and direct executive decision was difficult for Burmese and Western administrators alike. The presence of the "circle of villages" under the administration of one headman looked like and was converted into a district form of administration whereas the Burmese had only a personal affiliation to this headman their leader by heredity not delegated right.

Burmese culture was a culture of contrasts perplexing to administrators used to the patterns of European or other

1 A

the simplicity of their economy not a money economy even though there was money. Their personal autonomy belied the pattern of interdependence of young children on parents and old parents on children.

Until 1824 the Burmese were voluntarily cut off from the world interested in trading neither goods nor ideas with the outside world. They were a people without either great poverty or great accumulated wealth. Predominantly rural they lived in villages that were practically autonomous without policemen without enforcement of law or external authority and with very little crime or litigation. Their lives like their villages were centred about a monastery which gave their private lives and the life of the village focus and rhythm. Most of the men were literate the women had a great degree of responsibility in agriculture and in domestic and monetary matters. The land was rich and wants were simple there was much time for festivity dancing races and dramatic performances. Work was performed without compulsion and there seems little evidence of anxiety. Building a fortune was not a pattern offered to the individual. The guiding principle was to increase in merit so as to be reincarnated at a higher

and not from charting new paths into the future but from going along a known route.

The first effective contacts with Western civilization were commercial. Teak was exported, cotton goods imported. Entry into the nineteenth-century money economy meant a change for the Burmese who had to learn to

THE PEOPLE

When concerned with the Burmese specifically, Burma

to provide all of this work. Large numbers of Indian and Chinese immigrants entered the country. Such immigration was not only welcomed by the administration but was even subsidized upon occasion. This influx of population can also be seen as related to the relatively low population density of Burma in comparison with other Asiatic countries. By the beginning of the twentieth century about two-thirds of the population of the six large industrial towns consisted of immigrant foreigners. In 1947, Christ stated that there were 2,000,000 first-generation immigrants in Burma.

The Burmese were absolute believers in personal worth and

West profound changes such as immigration and commercial cultivation of land were initiated and the pressure of population upon land in certain areas became a background condition for a kind of poverty and unrest hitherto unknown. Since in the past government had been a matter of guidance and arbitration the introduction of government by legal precedent and direct executive decision was difficult for Burmese and Western administrators alike. The presence of the "circle of villages" under the administration of one headman looked like and was converted into a district form of administration, whereas the Burmese had only a personal affiliation to this headman their leader by heredity not delegated right.

Burmese culture was a culture of contrasts perplexing to administrators used to the patterns of European or other Asiatic cultures. Although the everyday life of the people was

the simplicity of their economy not a money economy even though there was money. Their personal autonomy belied the pattern of interdependence of young children on parents and old parents on children.

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If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less one could establish a shelter near a pagoda for the devout, or a rest house on the mountain side or merely a small roofed structure where jars of water could be kept for the thirsty travelers who passed. Gifts were constantly given to the monks and food was given daily to the

ment for the spiritual was accumulated rather than material wealth

Health and well-being which were aspects of personal

created by the accumulation of merits from past lives. To maintain it, it was necessary to have an even balance

from incarnation.

On the other hand one had to forestall evil pending from the past and their evil intentions constantly had to be turned away through some previous act—a small sacrifice. Buddhism permeated life with positive deeds—acts of merit—strengthening the individual and moving him forward. But these acts were separate not a part of every undertaking and Buddhist ritual itself except for the special festivals came

inviolability they did not try to impose their ways or their customs. If the were segregated customs If the were by the village circle to the village circle. All status etc. of the king was achieved and achievement was open to anyone through accumulation of merits strengthening what they called the *kan* a term by which we might understand personality or personal potency or luck and with a strong *kan* education could lead to status through attainment of office or by way of the monastery.

Distinctions of rank were very important and were constantly made but did not depend on birth. Potentially all men were born equal whatever their race, allegiance, or religion.

The climate of Burma is tropical characterized by heat, humidity, and much rainfall. The rainy season is from mid May to mid October and from November to February there is the relatively cool, dry season. Rainfall varies from region to region from 200 inches in the Arakan and Tenasserim coastal regions to the dry zone of central Burma where only about 25 to 45 inches of rain fall in a year. According to the amount of rainfall the cash crop is rice or oil seeds and agricultural improvements are welcomed or rejected as unnecessary.

RELIGION

It is impossible to speak of the life of the Burmese without speaking of their religion. Traditionally the monastery has been the focus of village life. The duty-day services at the pagoda which the villagers with their families attend eight days a week.

It is the expression of a high standard of living was to give as an act of merit not for the sake of others but for one's own enhancement for the strengthening of the *kan*.

F. H. H. op. cit. p. 17

Ibid p. 15

B. M. H. add. 4 1943 pp. 13

Geo. K. Scott (Chaw y Doe) 1910 pp. 217, 218, 219

H. Felding Hall, 1906 pp. 153, 154. See also, p. cit. p. 221

If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less, one could establish a shelter near a pagoda for the devout or a rest house on the mountain side or merely a small roofed structure where jars of water could be kept for the thirsty travellers who passed. Gifts were constantly given to the monasteries by simple villagers and food was given daily to the mendicant monks who usually gave most of it to pariah dogs.

But evil spiritual merit was accumulated, rather than material wealth.

Health and well being which were aspects of personal efficiency were also bound up with religion. There were two

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On the other hand one had to forestall evil pending from — — — — — to be turned
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If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less one
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On the other hand one had to f restall a l pend ng from

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B ddhist ritual itself except for the pecial festi al came

ferings all along their way and boat races had a preliminary

epidemic of cholera struck the people at some given time during the night beat their roofs and their drums blew trumpets yelled and danced about to drive away the *nats* who was taking revenge for some insult.

These two religious systems the official Buddhism and the unformalized religion of the *nats* are the basis of concepts about health and illness misfortune well being potency and achievement The *kan* the sum of personal merits and demerits has sometimes been translated into English as *luck*

spite of strong *kan* he suffered misfortune it was because he had failed in his preventive measures against the *nats* or be-

found they had set up a rude stage among the ruins and were enjoying a dramatic performance Hanks relates this lack of anxiety to an absence of historicity Only the experienced present may be said to be significant not its antecedents and future effects They did not investigate causes neither were they guided by the thought of future consequences What life brought was deserved and inevitable but this meant also that nothing was irreparable for no conflagration or famine could harm one's *kan* And deeds of some degree of merit were within everyone's power therefore achievement and rise in status were open to everyone as you desire so you get People were born in favourable or unfavourable circumstances but this was no cause for resentment or envy It was the inevitable outcome of the previous existence and the in

Ib. d. pp 233-39

Ibid. pp 396-98

H. F. I. d. g. H. I. 1908 pp 134-37

Ibid. pp 123-32 L. M. H. a. k. s. 1949 p 298

Scott p. cit. pp 66-67

Hall 1908 p. cit. pp 135-36

A all great act of merit like building
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monks There was no compulsion or pressure
giving it was done voluntarily and with enjoyment To give
was a merit, and it was the recipient who conferred a benefit
on the giver At a time of famine in Upper Burma when the
villagers were in subsistence rations at government work
camps they persuaded the many monks not to leave the vil-
lages as they had intended and out of their meagre rations
they brought back food every night for the monks In Upper
Burma every village has its monastery but at present in Lower
Burma where many of the new villages have a shifting popu-
lation of tenants and labourers only about a fourth of the vil-
lages have monasteries

— The Society of

the society of

be out after sundown All sexual relations were abjured The

THE INDIVIDUAL

The Burmese have been called a community of equals
T

monks outrank all other people Even kings had to prostrate themselves before monks and to address them in a special language Office has led to status traditionally and still does.

bridge he knew to be broken he would give no warning as

J m f d attempting to t f with person 1

Ib d p 4

Ib d p 79

H ks p t pp 287 291

Ibid pp 287 288 H II 1906 op cit. p 131

but not as power over others and to offer help would be a bid for power on one hand, and on the other a reflection on another's strength.

A less sympathetic observer may see this attitude as callousness and Hanks speaks of an absence of empathy among the Burmese. The net result is irresponsibility for the effect of one's acts upon others. When this is added to the tenet that all debt must be wiped out through expiation, this lack of responsibility for the effect of one's acts on others meant that a man could indulge in a momentary whim to harm or kill another. In March 1951, as reported in a radio news broadcast, a policeman in Mandalay found a hand grenade in the street and threw it playfully at a crowd where it exploded and killed several people.

In the framework of personal inviolability cases brought for bugle honours concerned perhaps a word of abuse, a threat, a slap and the Burmese would consider a fine of six months' earnings or a month's imprisonment not too great for expiation. On the other hand, a man whose lost property often did not bring a compensation.

clashed with the Burmese way of looking at a man's worth and integrity.

A theory within this framework was looked to only for guidance. The Burmese were ready to be reminded to do what they

GOVERNMENT LAW AUTHORITY

beyond the household and community. There was no army, regular police and there were limitations. His officials exercised judicial power but as arbitrators, not judges referring to the law books for guidance, not for rules.

Hall 1906 op. cit. p. 225-26

Geoffrey Gorer 1943 p. 34

Hall 1906 op. cit. p. 223

The traditional administration had not been seen—as was the new—as an external authority enforced from above nor had the traditional system been regarded as interfering with the daily life of the people

The headmen were hereditary chieftains of a group of people who happened to live in adjoining villages the so-called circle They governed people not a locality so that sometimes people in the villages who had come from elsewhere

not through imposed obedience to authority The headman guided and arbitrated he did not coerce He had no policemen because they were not needed here any more than they were by the king and his officials

To Western eyes the Burmese system appeared confused, areas of authority seemed undefined the law seemed neither organized nor binding The Western administrators proceeded to make changes which they thought were in accord with patterns already present with a view to creating uniform rational arrangements They found it confusing that some headmen

tive unit based on space

and actual practice had been administratively corrected For the sake of efficiency the district—the old circle—was cut up into villages and unit. New duties heavy penalties new rights were

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Law and order by social behaviour had been based on an ac-
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two is clear another that was missing.

For Burmese custom the rule of law was substituted which  
 included the British form of trial by jury. But the Burmese  
 introduced the jury system in their own way—instead of de-  
 pending on strict legal precedents they applied an intimate  
 knowledge of the individuals involved according to the own  
 concepts of humaneness. At one time when husband and  
 wife came to court the jury punished both as perpetual trouble-  
 makers when a woman brought a charge of rape they con-

*Ibid.* pp. 37, 105-6, 115.

*Ibid.* pp. 14, 21.

Hall 1906 *cit.* pp. 98, 99.

victed her of having seduced her attacker into committing adultery

Early in the new century the village system had become a mechanical contrivance only.

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legal system unable to control the anti social forces it liberated. The early writers on Burma had been impressed by the orderly habits of the people the relative absence of crime and rarity of litigation. The tremendous growth of crime in Burma since then ■ said by Furnivall to be related to several factors all eventually connected with the loss or lack of the

completing displacement of population—had assumed large proportions. The need for functioning within the new legal framework soon encouraged the form of higher education which the Burmese would undertake most readily without outside persuasion—the study of law—that is of Western law including how to obstruct and circumvent it. But there was no

it to this new type of law

were struck by the easy ac-

## Western world calls corrup-

tion among officials. Outside the village structure and the personal authority of the headman venality in the Western sense was rampant as sanctions against it had no cultural roots. This is reported to be true at present also.

These tendencies were of course enhanced during the Japanese occupation as in any occupied country

## VILLAGE LIFE

Burmese life was predominantly village life and even now there are relatively few Burmese in cities. The traditional picture of this life is that it was a very happy life with no indigents and no hard work with gaiety and very frequent festivity. There was much sociability and few quarrels. Rich and poor had enough to eat and ate approximately the same food. All had the same amusements perhaps the rich paid

1. ref all op cit, pp 31-32

Ibid. 76

Ib d 137

Ib d. pp 137 141

Ib d pp 127 28

Hanks op cit p 294

cover these expenses went to pay for entertainment for the village for silks and bangles and above all, for charity. Burmans detest hoarding and a miser was threatened with a fate as vile as that of Hall speaks of a man who lived

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#### animals

At this period there was no need to work more in the fields. At home some crafts were practised, women cooked and wove cloth. Men also wove and were said to produce embroideries superior to those of women. Women were the petty traders of the village and almost every household had a little shop. But

living according to established principles and when it resulted in a service to others this was only a detail.

Hall 1908 op cit. pp 107-8 Scott, p. cit. pp 75-76 553

Scott, op cit. pp 75-79

Ibid. p 81

Ibid. pp 144-47

Ibid. pp 80-84

H 1906 op cit. p 111

See 4, op cit. p 35

There was much festivity in the village during the nine months when it was allowed. After an evening meal the young people bathed and dressed in festive clothes and almost every evening except during the rainy season there was some amusement sometimes lasting through the night. There were

with burning tapers the pagodas lit by tiers of lamps the

amusements. During the months when there was no work in the fields the men loitered at home to receive visits or went visiting or they gambled. Good conversation was prized.

There was much noise in the village. In the monastery there was the loud sound of the wooden bell. And during the teaching there was the deafening sound of learning: the boys shouted their lessons while trying to learn them and a really noisy schoolroom meant that everyone was working in top form. In the village a knot of men might be talking together at the top of their voices. Added to this din was the strident sound of the wagon wheels. A creak of a particular whine and penetration was prized by the wagoners and people identified the approaching wagon by the key at which the creak was pitched. When a family went to the duty-day services planning to spend the night on the pagoda grounds they often beat a gong along the way to announce loudly this deed of the valued things—with religious and meritorious acts and positive and good and noise to drive out the *nats*.

Parents took care of their children and children supported parents in old age as a matter of course though emotionally the individual appears to have been self-centred. This accepted interdependency between parents and children contrasted with the British pattern in which parents owed support to children and self-esteem was tied up with independence in old age.

The land belonged to the family and could not be alienated by any one of its members and the members found it difficult to alienate themselves from the land. If they went from the poorer districts of Upper Burma to earn money in Lower

Burma at harvest time they were not happy until they re-  
 turned to their land however useless it

great pleasure in food and gay apparel but there was also the  
 village monastery where monks had to live ascetically  
 dressing only to cover their bodies and eating only to retain  
 life and strength

#### MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

The Burmese do not have many children. A family of five or

Women will bathe and anoint them. Men will take them to cock fights provided that they are their own offspring. 1

of merit. It does not fall into the pattern validating the deed.

As a rule children do not come early in marriage. But every one does want to have children. This does not arise from a desire to continue the family name since with the Burmese

there is no desire for an heir. Accumulated property, all wealth was the wealth of personal merits which a man took with him at death to bring into a higher incarnation. But family life was enjoyed and children were wanted. The Burmese are pictured by all writers as highly sociable, valuing companionship, conversation, and sheer human noise. Childless couples are considered unfortunate and often informally adopt the children of relatives or friends.

There is marked preference for male children. To fail to have at least one son is very disappointing. For a woman to bear a son is equivalent to her achievement of full existence as a human being. Only a male can be initiated in youth into the Buddhist priesthood and the son is an important descendant. No sons of a family is a boy whose life is a proper rite. And the expense of a proper rite.

Pregnancy is not regarded as a normal state. It is an abnormal state.

to have a child. To take part in the daily prayers, lighting the altar, and doubly important the unborn child. Ceremonies or still born. If she attends a funeral, an evil spirit at the cemetery will find it easy to enter her at this period of low *lan* and in

H. K. = cit. p. 290

G. E. = p. c. t. p. 29

B. = p. c. t.

Ibid.

Ibid.

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H ks II Lp 290

G II Lp 29

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Ibid

Ibid.

same clinging-cherishing pattern, affectionate and rejecting by turn, which according to recent information characterizes her ordinary relationship with her child.

Breast feeding continues for an indefinite period, sometimes up to three or four years. At six or eight months it is supplemented by fruits, juices and solid foods, presented lovingly. The first solid food is rice which the mother pre-chews, forms into a ball and puts in the baby's mouth. The solid diet is increased until, at weaning, the child has the same diet as adults. The child does not eat with adults until he is about eight and has learned the etiquette of eating.

Toilet training comes early, casually and easily. Mothers maintain that the babies train themselves naturally. A Western observer suggests that the mother holds the baby away from the ground when he gives signs

## PLACE OF WOMEN

For anyone who undertakes to introduce change in Burma it is essential to know the place of women in the traditional life.

herbs She is at any rate encouraged to eat heat producing foods such as *ngapi* (dried fish) and fried salt fish. Traditionally if a pregnant woman died after the foetus was fully formed her abdomen was opened and the foetus was buried separately in a secret place to avoid disinterment by sorcerers. If a baby was still born its body was wrapped with a piece of iron and was buried thus with the injunction never to return to its mother's womb.

When the lochial period is over the mother is steamed and the baby has its head shaved. The naming ceremony takes place after a few days when an auspicious day is determined. Traditionally the name has been limited by the specific day of birth each day of the eight day week has a group of sounds allotted to it for the initials of names of people born on those days. On this day the child's head is washed for the first time by the midwife with specially prepared water and the guests wash their hands with the same water. The midwife receives a present and the assembled company is feasted.

According to traditional practice an exact note is made of the hour of birth and a certificate of birth is drawn for every one so that a horoscope may be cast and the auspicious periods of life may be known. The certificate is kept by the parents until the child is old enough to take care of it and then it is guarded by each individual as a most valuable possession and is consulted with the aid of an astrologer. There is a belief also that the particular day of birth determines the personality of the child. Just as the future is already established so personal attractiveness is established by the day of birth. A child does not have to win approval to become a favourite his day of birth has already determined that.

In the early months babies are almost inseparable from the mother and are fed before they have a chance to cry. The mother goes about her marketing and her household work with the baby straddled on her hip. At first the babies sleep mostly in their mother's arms. Gradually they are taught to like being held by others in the group who are always ready to fondle and play with them and the mother is ready to accept without comment the child who suddenly apprehensive is ready to come back. Bodily contact is highly valued and is a strengthening and reassuring factor throughout life. When not sleeping in the mother's arms the baby is carried in the roof of the house.

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B a t, op cit

Scott p cit. pp 35

Ib d pp 513

Go op c t p 26

Ha ks p cit. p 290

same teasing-chirishing pattern, affectionate and rejecting by turn, which according to recent information characterizes her ordinary relationship with her child. Breast feeding continues for an indefinite period, sometimes up to three or four years. At six or eight months it is supplemented by fruits, juices and solid foods presented lovingly. The first solid food is rice which the mother pre-chews, forms into a ball and puts in the baby's mouth. The solid diet is increased until, at weaning, the child has the same diet as adults. But he does not eat with adults until he is about eight and has learned the etiquette of eating.

Toilet training comes early and easily. Mothers maintain that the babies train themselves naturally. A Western observer suggests that the mother holds the baby away from her body or sets him on the ground when he gives signs of wanting to defecate or urinate. At any rate infants learn to a matter of social acceptability—not so long the adult—rather than of cleanliness. And the child is not taught to use the family privy until he discovers its purpose himself at about the age of five. There is no pressure to grow up; neither is there discouragement. Fortitude is not stressed. A child when hurt or sick is held in the arms of those who love him.

The Burmese child gets a good deal of attention but there is neither continuity nor predictability in it. He is held and fondled much but often by people who have no continuing responsibility or concerned affection for him. His father may be indulgent at one moment, giving him money for sweets and brusque and indifferent at another. The same is true of the mother who may be demonstrative or indifferent according to unpredictable whims. She may be warmly cherishing or teasing. There is no temporal continuity or predictability but there is the ever present assurance of human companionship of someone who will hold and fondle now. The Burmese are reported to have a complete absence of that anxiety which we associate with insecurity.

## PLACE OF WOMEN

For anyone who undertakes to introduce change in Burma it is important to be aware of the position of women there. Traditionally they have occupied a high position and have had a very important share in the affairs of the village. Theoretically they were less than men—if we are justified in arranging them in hierarchical order. For example a good woman could

Gore op. p. 29

C op. p. 27

Ibid pp. 26-27

H. K. p. 1 p. 290

Hall 1903 op. cit. pp. 122-32 134-35

Scott, op. cit. pp. 85-87

H. K. op. cit. on ...

hope to be reincarnated as a man. The hire for women was less than that for men and for this reason the compensation paid for killing a woman by accident was likewise less than that paid for a man. Officially women as well as men stated that men were superior.

As according to Buddhist tenet each man was responsible for his own acts woman could not be considered evil for tempting man. If a monk met his downfall through a woman she could not be blamed for being a woman; the monk was at fault for failing to discipline his emotions. However when a woman brought a complaint of rape to a British court the jury—all Burmese—punished her instead for seduction.

were responsible for most of the farming activities; men did the heavier work and the women and children did the rest. Women actually were the more actively religious at the home.

a fight, arrest culprits and send them to jail.

Girls kept their own names at marriage and wore no sign of

and women deferred to their husbands. Marriages were good when the combination of birthdays was an auspicious one and in general divorce although easy was not common. Either husband or wife could ask for a divorce. Women were easily provoked, were supposed to have less patience, and often asked for a divorce. The Burmese magistrates as a rule paid no attention to their requests unless repeated often and with some reason. A husband might request to be divorced because he had no male issue or because his wife did not love him or defer to him; a woman might complain that her husband was poor or ailing or idle or had been crippled after the marriage. The people distinguished among causes for divorce and divorces.

H II 1906 p 297

Ib d p 171

Ib d p 172

S it p II pp 68 69 244-45

H II 1903 p I pp 102 176 81

Scott p I p 53

H II 1906 p I p 169 74 189 90

Scott p cat pp 60 61

based on unacceptable excuses were looked upon unfavourably. It was said of a divorced woman that 'She fits all men as a pot fits all (thick and thin). She is easy to get.' If a man entered a monastery to get rid of his wife he was called a 'jungle run away'.

The difference between men and women was given symbolic expression. Men carried loads on their shoulders, women on their heads. Women did the work of the household which was light also; they ran the store which was part of almost every village household. They husked the rice in wooden mortars; they made cheroots; they cooked. They had looms under the house where they wove fabrics, but the men produced the best fabrics as their embroidery surpassed that of the women. The posts of the houses all had seven the female ones were considered easy-going and harmless, the male ones were considered leading to honour. A man's riches consisted of his learning and his family and his good name; his pride lay in being celebrated and feared for the strength of his mind and body. A woman's riches consisted of her beauty and her pride lay in her ability to talk in a pleasant and amusing way.

At the age when boys joined the monastic order, girls underwent an ear piercing during a great three-day celebration which marked their official entrance to the status of womanhood. This was the only festival in a woman's life. There were several festivals for boys and men.

In general, women were actually fully equal to men, handling their own property, acting in their own right, negotiating family matters, making decisions. They were not dependent on men except incidentally in so far as there was interdependence among all members of a family. During the period of Western administration, this self-dependent role of women—which differed both from European and from most Asiatic patterns—was not taken into account.

# FOOD

Burmese behaviour is markedly oral. Men and women smoke a large part of the time or chew betel. Monks are not allowed to smoke, but they chew betel all the time. Drinking does not form part of the picture. People drank water when thirsty and sometimes. They did not drink anything at meal times and their many medicinal uses were very rarely in liquid form. Prugnant women reduced their liquid consumption even further. On the

Ibid.  
Hall 1906 op cit. p 197  
Scott, p cit. p 77  
Ibid. p 227  
Hall 1906 p 177  
Brauer, op cit.  
Scott, op cit. pp 70-72

other hand monks and the devout during Lent had to fore-

the Buddhist and local woman was given hot treatments and heating foods while the monks consumed only cooling liquids most of the day

In the villages some rice liquor was drunk but never in the house and since the introduction of Western civilization some beer and other alcoholic drinks may be taken. However a drunken Burmese is rarely seen and drunkenness generally is

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The villagers kept fowl but apparently mainly as pets and for entertainment. There is usually however a preserved form of fish a paste called *ngapi* at every meal and this is highly nutritious. Apart from rice this is probably the food which the Burmese identify as distinctive of their native diet.

The family eats at the floor or on low stools

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perhaps a fried cake or so purchased from an itinerant seller throughout the day. During Lent the devout eat only the morning meal.

The rice is still often husked by hand with a large wooden mortar and pestle. It is boiled in a large kettle of water over a wood or charcoal fire until tender. The kitchen is usually detached from the house and when anything is fried in oil

HEALTH

Completion of the Body

No man can assume true manhood or even true humanity unless he has assumed the yellow robe of the monk if only for a few days it usually happens when a boy is around 15. For this reason villagers were not sure that an Englishman had achieved full humanity. And no girl can become a woman unless her ears are pierced. There was a feeling a boy had to ensure his manhood by tattooing the region above and below the waist sometimes as far down as the knees. This also enhanced his effectiveness in achievement and his endurance. Tattooing was also a charm against dangers like snake bite. This custom however is disappearing. Soldiers and bandits would have a charmed jewel and pieces of gold or silver let into the flesh under the skin in these lay the effectiveness and when jailers cut them out, the bandit's spirit would be broken.

The Burmese were ready to add things to the body in other ways also. Long hair was prized—that is hair in a thick knot—and both men and women added false hair to it. It was like wearing festive clothes and no secret was made of it. And one thing apart from deeds of merit upon which they were very ready to spend surplus money was festive apparel and personal adornment in general.

Hygiene

The Burmese bathed in the morning when they got up and after sundown after they had eaten the last meal of the day. The purpose was not cleanliness but to freshen up for enjoyment and also as part of the preparation for the evening amusement. Soap was not used. The hair was washed less often, as a special ceremony and with circumspection. Water was used to rinse out the mouth after a meal but it is not clear whether it was for refreshment—since no liquid is drunk with the meal—or for cleanliness. Water was drawn from shallow wells which were not protected against pollution. Drinking water was strained but only to remove the visible impurities. A Buddhist must not destroy life. Monks carried strainers with them on their rounds. While a Western scientist showed them the term *germ* micro-

Scott, Ch. p. 394  
I d. pp. 39-41, 42-47, 48  
Ch. as on cit. p. 145  
Scott, p. pp. 3-44  
I d. pp. 63-71



scopic life that came through the strainer he was told that people were responsible only for the destruction of living beings that they saw with the naked eye

There are few pit latrines in the villages and when the villagers have been persuaded to build them they often cannot be persuaded to use them There have been attempts to make the people wear shoes for protection against soil borne diseases but these have not been successful either Communal lands which in the past had been set aside for hygienic purposes have often been taken up for cultivation by the villagers since the increase of cash crops and the loss of organic unity of the vill  
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it creates much more of a hazard to health

### *Medicine and Treatment*

Health is one of the areas of life which are maintained through a strong *kan* and through preventive measures By following his horoscope a man learns to be careful on his unlucky days He takes preventive measures on many occasions as a part of the complete procedure for example for many people to take a bath means to utter a charm over the first jarful of water as a precaution against illness A pregnant woman takes more precautions since she has to depend largely on these as her *kan* is weak Food is considered as affecting health and monks before they eat say a grace in which they state that this is their only purpose in eating

When a man falls ill he is eager to have a physician in attendance and is ready to take medicine in fact medication is very common in the lives of the people At their morning grace the monks state that their medicine is necessary for their health which is necessary for diligence So a sick man immediately demands medicine as well as other treatment

There is a complex system or a combination of systems of treatment of illness The two main systems revolve around the theory of the four elements of the body and their state of

born under different planets There are moreover two oppos

- Ib d. p 343  
F II p ent. pp 144-45  
Scott p. 1, p 73  
Ib d p 31  
Ib d pp 419 20  
Ib d p 31

what body pain and discomfort in one portion of the  
is diagnosed and a "witch-doctor" is called.  
Apart from massage there is treatment by objects intro-  
duced into the body. There is a large variety of herbs, seeds,  
powdered stones, etc. used as remedies. Almost all medical  
men consist of solid liquids are rare as they are in the region  
of the Burmeses. When the drug physician falls with his  
pills and other solids the witch-doctor usually comes and he  
also introduces things into the body of the patient. He sticks  
pins into him or forces red pepper into his eyes. It may be sug-  
gested that this is one reason why although the Burmeses ac-  
cepted injections with ease they resist vaccinations. An  
ethiopian also would probably be quite acceptable since they  
have been given for painful tattooing.

Individual practitioners are known for their special abilities  
in certain kinds of disorders and for their own often secret,  
remedies. British commentators seem to feel that there is a  
good deal of evidence that these remedies are efficacious. Scott  
cites the case of a man in Rangoon who after the best Western  
doctors in Rangoon and Calcutta had failed to cure him of  
varicose ulcers was healed speedily by a Burmeses practitioner.  
It was from such practitioners that Western medicine learned  
to use oil of chaulmoogra for leprosy.

Death is not feared by the individual. Life and death are  
on a part of the road of existence and to die is to take on an-  
other life. There is no religious sacrament at death. A man dies  
with his family around him and perhaps the headman comes  
to say to him, "Remember your good deeds. But death is ter-  
rible for the survivors because there is no hope of ever meet-  
ing again. After death at any rate of meeting again the same  
form and personality in the same relationship in which the  
deceased was known."

Attempts at the introduction of Western type medical and  
hospital care into Burma were accompanied by many diffi-  
culties. Burmeses practitioners have lost the place they held  
when the headman ruled the village and gave them his support.  
The land in which they earned their living is now  
often under cultivation. They often have to buy these in

ibid. pp. 417-19  
ibid. p. 421 B. ant. p. 421  
Scott, op. cit. p. 421  
ibid. p. 23  
F. M. Hall, op. cit. p. 147  
Scott, op. cit. p. 40  
ibid. p. 417 B. C. p. 2  
Hall 1906 op. cit. pp. 281-87 H. II, 1908 op. cit. p. 251  
p. cit. p. 139

redients in the market now where they may be found to be adulterated and ineffective. Patients will not seek out

And to go to a hospital to whom comes the hospital rule of isolation

people accustomed to living in houses of at most three rooms. The large central hospitals mean leaving home and village behind at a time when reassurance is most needed. The physicians were usually all foreign and so were the attendants. In addition there are other factors.

He may be awakened suddenly by a hospital routine which does not first allow his wandering soul to return to his body. When hospital routine necessitates his going against his religious beliefs this increases his already insecure position.

In recent years health standards have been higher than those of neighbouring countries. It has been suggested that this is due to the generally adequate food supply and the suitability of housing and clothing to the conditions of the climate. In the cities however health conditions are not good. Rangoon before World War II was said to have the highest death rate from tuberculosis. In 1938 the urban death rate was 30.18 per thousand as compared to 19.13 per thousand in the villages.

But intensive health work shows that good results have been obtained. Work in rural areas is also being carried out.

There is a call for the creation of more such facilities. The realization of these plans is very highly contingent upon the improvement of the total economic situation of the country and upon the ability of the government.

Physicians in private practice are found in the more important towns and clinics.

F. M. H. op cit pp 120 140 148 356

Scott p cit pp 76 79

Ibid pp 394 95

Ch I ii p cit pp 151 52

Ch H J. Jacoby 1949 p 94

The first of Rangoon operates a school

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# EDUCATION

Before and during the early years of British occupation the

unhappy picture of the monastic school in the past. Burmese informants now days emphasize the negative aspects of the system of the authority of the monks

The British administration introduced vernacular schools giving instruction in the villages and Anglo-vernacular

popular from their culture as they emphasized respect for Western ways and children attending them often found it difficult to adapt themselves to their communities after they finished school.

Primary schools provided women with some literacy. Girls were taught to learn how to keep accounts for their trading and also to get them out of the way. Some children were sent to school as a plea while they would be called for and since the

marly set up to teach boys how to make a living taught them how to live. They taught discipline, morality and interpersonal relations. They trained in equalitarian living all within the monastery walls were equal and performed menial duties together, played and shared life together. The lay schools whether governmental or missionary stressed success in examinations above all. Morality and discipline deteriorated, and in 1932 the Director of Education noted that districts with the best record for education had the worst record for crime.

Higher education in Burma has created new problems. On one hand it created racial consciousness as Burmese graduates of professional schools found that they were not treated with the respect accorded their European colleagues. On the other it resulted in a class of the educated as opposed to the uneducated and since it was mainly the urbanites who could send their children to the university defined the splits between the village and the city. Burmese culture and foreign culture. Many educated urban Burmese know very little about rural Burma and the life of the people in the villages. Furthermore it is the well to do who can afford to give their children this education. In the past there was no such distinction since all education was free and the boys did not have to leave the village to receive it. So that now in place of the equalitarian training of the monastic school we see the rise of unequal classes.

Certain traditional Burmese attitudes remain and obstruct the aims of higher education. In the traditional Buddhist schools the purpose of learning was to show that with an upright life there was no need for anything else.

educated Burmese are to the applied as to those of medicine do not want to go to the city for short time. They prefer to stay in town and seek a white-collar job. This is of course a very common characteristic of the educated groups in countries in which higher education is developed.

In the past the monastic school and a respect for the family. The lay school substituted an economic incentive for a social incentive but few went through enough years to be able to achieve economic advancement through their education. And those who did either found

opportunities for making a living through their specialized education closed to them, or found these unacceptable. So there is still little incentive for Western type of education in Burma. There is now more literacy in Burma than before but this is not the result of the lay schools but of the prevalence of public notices, the railroad signs and the opportunity to use one's knowledge of reading. The postal system itself fosters a latent demand for adult literacy. For literacy to continue into adulthood there is a need for more material to read for a literate to be made available to the people at large in their own language.

# AGRICULTURE

Cultivating the land was an enjoyable part of living. The Burmese like to be out of doors and the cultivation itself did not take very much time. produced no pressure and created few anxieties. In the relatively dry sections where rice was grown there were frequently years too dry for the rice then millet would be grown which though less well liked still afforded subsistence. In the sections where the flat land retained the rains of the south western monsoons the soil was very easy to work and exceedingly rich fertilized by the silt. There was no need to work against time as the weather was predictable. It was a pleasant and profitable plant more us in it to spare for gaming and for deeds of merit. Pressure to save money was not there.

creating a fortune or buying imported goods in fact there were almost no taxes to buy. Thus though money was in use this was not the case. Thus the money was in use this was not the case. Thus the money was in use this was not the case.



... and threshing were all

ing ... has actually changed more ... of the

...  
Conditions in Upper Burma have changed also under the ...

culture

Presently the organic ... atomized Under the stress of ...

protected ... a subsistence economy Now ... there was  
time for the social ... the bullock races and the dances  
and theatrical ... was no place to hold them The changes  
which resulted from Western contact did not create atomiza-  
tion but they did produce conditions which accentuated inter-  
personal problems which were already there Interpretation

From ... pp 89 90 193 293 300

ibid p 298

ibid pp 336 298 300 303

ibid, pp 137 8





ization of this soil, it should be spread and ditches should be dug. But the people feel no need to introduce improvements on land which they will leave in a few months and as for the immediate crop it is obvious that it will grow without such improvement.

## ORIENTATIONS

### Time

The Burmese had various ways of computing time without the use of timepieces. There were the definite seasonal changes which introduced the steps of agricultural activity. Definite

pressure of time.

*M. Cha. Lat*

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Factory made cotton goods were substituted for the costly silks that had been woven and embroidered by hand in the villages. Machine made crockery replaced the beautiful lacquer ware and local pottery. By 1911 the number of people employed in spinning and weaving had fallen off by one half.

Jacoby p. 77-78

Scott, t. p. 30

ibid. p. 107

Furness, esp. c. pp. 100-1



he made in excess of his family's needs went toward effecting  
change in his own stage of life. It didn't change the standard  
of the family house or of the village.

# ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

1. *La Perma Village*  
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## GREECE

The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews with respondents  
and men, women, and children in the urban and rural areas of 1950-







where a village scene of life pass out of population, help introduced of living generally health were introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation In the thirties the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership World War II with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief and more recently of the POS agency of the ECA have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called old Greeks The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners to use the products of technology even the processed foods of technology Many French and English words are used in their speech They take on the attitudes of the Western world using clocked time in business and living a life relatively passed for time, adopting in some extent the Western scientific approach and by objective external limits instead of the more animistic approach and the body patterned limits of traditional Greek culture There are lectures here on health and hygiene on child care and co-operation and nutrition In Athens the music and the drama are excellent and in line with Euro-American developments There is rapid transportation There are many associations based on foreign patterns the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts football groups and hiking groups There are foreign attitudes about travel people go to tour the country or the world instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine The difference between the city and the peasants who thought life should have no high education

People of different regions have a different way of life The mountainous terrain has been the cause of easy communication except eastward differences in dialect and local history and most of all the extreme personal independence of the people has fostered tremendous variations from place to place To the world at large a man may be a Greek but to other Greeks he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this





treasures, such as a paper on present-day medicine often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. Thus in the Greek calculus in himself what constitutes his

core the Greek must never be exposed and expose the Greek word for shame modesty decency propriety self-con-

work of the thirties which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate either in scathing invective such as name-calling or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation not

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not even the flowers in the spring. It gave the Greeks a great sense of freedom to defy Hitler in the

knowledge th

know edge that they had no fear was upheld by their they had been defeated by monstrous machine submission has no bear

To suggest to a Greek

ard of living because

*philotimo* as a person

now because of acts of God not h Greek there is need for aid

before the change and form a conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned they were adapting the village pattern besides their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances but now because of destruction occupation soil ero

See what the nation has come to and then  
of

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## IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body and ethics are <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> and roles just as <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> 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The body image is the image of the Greek character —  
 tude and hardihood firm will a love of simplicity in for  
 entertainment, furnishings the standard of living in gener—  
 are common traits Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes —  
 day drink within measure and eat in moderation excess —  
 disliked Fortitude is an ever present quality the *philotim* —

firm You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you  
 have the necessary fortitude a Greek takes no inventory of  
 himself because from the time he was a baby his parents said  
 to it that he grew straight and hard and because he knows  
 himself to be a Greek A current book on child care warns

giving in to a desire for pampering Even to fall asleep is to

are not  
 of be—  
 when,  
 in voting on an important issue by roll-call a member of  
 parliament answers Five thousand times yes or when white  
 pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party This

Greek  
 The organs of highest significance are the eyes They are

means We missed you

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or reek it into pieces, they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the *epidystichs*. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one apprehends if they are blue the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams of the sea with its fleet of sail boats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns the people go strolling after work is done, sailing this not a promenade but *syrta*! enjoyable viewing. When a long absent loved one is returning, people congratulate saying "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks since it establishes and fosters the all important personal relationships. All

these are occasions in the case of the few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals which not under so much influence are often couched in oratory. Command and conversation is a recognized form of with

mentioned in the personal folk songs Genital organs never be mentioned and many women know no names for them Out of over 400 love couplets analyzed only one mentions the breast 'your breast is like Paradise Formally a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named

embarrassment and when a mother is nursing there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks In the personal folk poems there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers herbs trees musk and cinnamon a beautiful girl she is says a rhyming game An unexpected guest will be offered a smell of whatever the housewife is cooking or the family is eating And it is smell which makes the craving of a pregnant woman not to be denied A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door and in a grocery store a customer often offers a smell of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer

Orderliness is a highly valued quality Love songs mention the orderly hair the orderly teeth The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours giving several sketches and

all right or 'under control' is "in order"

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart if not their basis in the body The body is never naked or perhaps only when absolutely necessary Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion but it is all a matter of hygiene no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere Conversely dress and particularly festive dress "dress of splendour" and ornamentation are of great importance and in fact are essential to complete the body When beautiful girls are described their clothing and their jewelry are given at least as much place as their bodily charms and

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And the lower world, which bears no part in it, is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and monstrous.

The body and the self, the Greek people, define, restrain and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relationship. They are extended along lines of emotional, personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships. Let us go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant is continuously linked through persons with the original person. Progress is introduction of the occasionally alienated, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of persons along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

From on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when

had to use not impersonal scientists but persons who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, persons who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee-houses. And the villagers followed with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from

receiving CARE parcels impersonally make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender they often write very personal letters trying to send photographs of themselves, so that you can see us. In Greece there are no political bosses in a man's life too personal, too much bound by personal loyalty to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty in themselves, and thereby to the detriment of the public. There are irregularities at the polls they come about not through the selling of one's vote,



mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analyzed only one mentions the breast 'your breast is like Paradise'. Formally as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing breast *vyr* is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems there is much mention of sweet smelling flowers, herbs, trees, musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a smell of whatever the housewife is cooking or the family is eating. And it is smell which makes the craving of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door and in a grocery store a customer often offers a smell of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or positions in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of set to rights or all right or under control is *in order*.

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart if not their basis in the body. The body is never naked or perhaps only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion but it is all a matter of hygiene, no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely dress and particularly festive dress of splendour and ornamentation are of great importance and in fact are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described their clothing and their jewelry are given at least as much place as their bodily charms and are not treated separately and when a brave warrior is mentioned his trappings and  
 I can  
 llery

perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other. It is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake and women bringing gifts to him.

and the law is external to the organic structured whole. It is a law of the organic whole.

## WORK

Attitudes towards work, time planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function.

Things like work

in the

There

interd

time

work

day by

10

11

Diligence is part of the image of the self: it is a personal quality warmly demanded. To call a girl or woman diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which schoolchildren used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to start the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody goody about her and nothing of the

joyous little

the

girl

ing in the

and only recently in Athens which has been affected by foreign ideas did a plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or ship. A peasant woman accepts the gift with now my sister and your family in my family.

Americans who excel in impersonal kindness are always surprised to see their human warm generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks on the other hand are surprised to see their kind American friends of paper according to deprive themselves of

and even bankrupt themselves but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness honesty loyalty and obedience are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth but this of course means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is

only to the government and to the unknown Greeks. Although they were good in terms of the family to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only Greeks cannot be impart goods. To take care of or of an order of priority one's role. Yet impartial maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to bend and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty just because it is saintly are highly admired in Greece—though

clock however in the cities he now functions under clocked  
time because he comes under government and union regula-  
tions. Even in the United States though conservative Greek  
men live to the time of

gradually They know when to go to church y i when a  
Mass the

and when it is not a conscious end  
To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly

thing which is more than the naked act of consumption.  
[ will eat his meal with an orange which he will peel with

make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy happy life of the girls as square as the shade of the

on the outdoor brazier of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away the little children running by their side the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude it rests on self-discipline and free incentive it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake it is the personal quality of diligence not work itself which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom all work under pressure such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries or for land needed by the family worked incredibly long hours but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. They worked at their own shoeshine booths or their own fruit stands or restaurants they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

## TIME

Greeks 'pass' the time they do not save or accumulate or

the fields and it is

At night women visit and gossip men join them or go to the coffee-house there is story telling and ardent political discussion and as for any work done after dark "the day takes a look at it and laughs." Wherever there is no law to the contrary a man opens his store in due course not by the

and since it extends into the future Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So as a rule they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a graduated instalment on a radio and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life: he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *c. miniatzari* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business or saved intact for the family or given in beneficence.

The wealthy Greek of good family, that is who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by

excessive luxury. He is so  
his gifts to his country  
that bears his name.  
which his establishments  
are sent annually  
purposes, as well as  
of relatives, by people  
Greece has counted  
of income and the  
effects of restrictive  
lose contact with them  
are now being seen

## THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

I do not envy others their vineyard and their gardens,  
I envy only those who sit in my own place.  
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins  
To grieve with them and rejoice with them  
And help each other when anything befalls.  
(Cretan folk-song)

Greek society starts with the family and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating and conversation, celebration, recreation, all in terms of the unit, and are the way in which the child grows into it. It is taken on and reaffirmed. Under contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children and the

often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint, "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished" meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can" and there is the urgent call for help "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time or that they run at all.

Minutes and hours are used but these are merely references to the passing of time rather than its measure. Visitors asking how far it is to the next village find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of this, the school, active functions, gatherings, people are careful. Logismenon when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other person is also just arriving or if they find him gone they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

## STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living is set not by a scheme but by the needs of the person shaped and channelled by family role.

valued by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits however since the family is central to all planning.

and since it extends into the future Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future and know that it will not take care of itself. So as a rule they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life: he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *ommatzasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family or given in beneficence.

The wealthy Greek of good family, that is who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives by people whose wives do the town housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration since American born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

### THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

I do not envy those who sit in their gardens,  
I envy only those who stay in one place  
And most I envy those who sit at home and first cousins  
To go with them and rejoice with them  
And to help each other when anything befalls.

(Cretan folk-song)

Greek society starts with the family and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains in it. The group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the



relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family by day or by night though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family attending the regular liturgy not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family containing the child is the focus not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand the child is not the focus and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special meal times for the child neither are the family meal times. The father leaves the child's name day it is important since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family. The child but he is

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults and to listen to their conversation which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village a house often consists of only one room so there is no physical privacy and even when there are more rooms for summer living the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness although aloneness is accepted without complaint when necessary as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room and even a bed mothers like to work with their daughters whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole a system of delicately balanced relationships. Old and young are responsible for each other. The Greek never ceases to be a child or daughter cannot be measured on a financial scale while

the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence; it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation in one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation in the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family; he does not uphold the family *philotimo*; he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child to son for farming to daughters for a dowry. Thus, at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece is present since fields have been divided often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

We moved to Athens as a family, said an islander, "my mother, her sister and brothers, my grandfather. If the family. The Greek family is extensive and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them all. They form links in the chain of relationship so that personal contact can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room. A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is "addressee to the place." "you" and refers to "we." The father is an authority and he must be obeyed by all. In the family, the children except when the

oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son whatever his age has to be circumspect in the presence of his father: he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern and a considerate

haps to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty. It is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men: expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them: this does not make for inferiority just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first or to bring her water. The mother is

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for her. If her husband rides the only donkey which she brought as dowry while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love: this is the coveted role.

The relatives by marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother in law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages with great stress on the dowry were the rule until recent years and are still common. The dowry persists even when the marriage is individually arranged and often interferes with higher education for the girls: money is spent for the sons' education but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings, however there is increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so wide spread that the family in effect has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

#### MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred: traditionally sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters: it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity and the woman is

held responsible. People say "the poor man, pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept maternity difficulties without asking for medical help lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book on maternal and child care. For the first time before marriage, both family histories be

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According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non appearance of the menses. This the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims. And this is the time to go for obstetrical

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reasons. In the last two weeks she should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy. She must never become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings. She should not play cards. She should drink nothing stronger than light wine. She should eat meals as balanced as possible consistent with her means and her normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm and happy and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people so that her birth will be beautiful.

... .. says that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual but not far fetched.

There are prenatal clinics as well as well baby clinics maintained by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. In many villages however there are no trained midwives available and there is recourse to the wise woman. The manual *For the Mother* gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth but many women in the cities when they can afford it prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

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over and ... to church. In some areas no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a completely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals suggest half-swaddling for the three months that is swaddling only of the trunk of the body with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered es

... .. in the village the old swaddling is practised for the most part along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over until it is

imperative to make the baby grow straight tall and strong most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned traditional and scientific opinion

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■ extremely rare for a mother to use — — — — —  
 less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians  
 find it necessary however to make impassioned pleas for the  
 mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in en-  
 gaging a wet nurse the criminality towards one's own baby  
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feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude and is introduced in the name of self discipline as well as for giving the mother freedom that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers however fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is suggested and described at length but none for walking. Greek mothers do encourage their children to walk however and a folk rhyme says that a baby lest it be shamed takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character training obedience is taught first almost from birth it is the parents task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or over protective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness enuresis thumb-sucking night terror lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra thumb-sucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years mothers have been urged to spend more time with their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well-to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe feed and suckle their babies themselves. For other groups this would mean a displacement the children are usually with the mother working with her and sharing experience with her but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby in touching its skin or watching its movements when free from the swaddle. An adult is never in vision of delight in any part of the flowers herbs and trees but most of all she tells of the joys of gardens.

little angel my little bird my little love she uses no terms

derived from the sense of taste unless she is a refugee from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say "That

ame its parents.

child Bravo

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you have shamed me. A child is a child as my good one but when naughty merely as bad one. In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They

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Every body is baptized as early as possible until baptism is drawn in the name of the Father



When a new baby is expected the mother may tell the knee baby<sup>1</sup> that he is to have a little sibling or she may simply wait until the birth and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby he may cry for suck too. In this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side or offer him a piece of bread or if she knows him to be jealous or sickly she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness. He does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby to share herself equally with fairness. Instead she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work and he shares in this also. Gradually he takes on her attitude the cherishing loving responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents now in its fourth year but Greek newspapers carry no child-care sections either on week days or Sundays. Of the magazines only those catering to non-intellectuals such as *Romanza* carry child and maternal care information. The articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

## EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece and above all professional education. The doctor the lawyer the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing a school teacher has the respect of the people but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important even revered. It is traditionally so the calends of Saint Basil sung on the night of 31 December represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and an ink well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk-song a girl rejecting a suitor says she will marry only an educated man.

The country has been universal compulsory education up to the

in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling. Not all the older peasants attended school as children or attended it for more than three or four years and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time because they had no opportunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the

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passage as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on navigation urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the monarchy assuming

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catering to literary tastes address us to improve people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments through the world and number of educational articles. Those addressed to the commoner the simple people carry articles on household management, e.g. on cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of popular advice. The newspapers maintain a high literary and scholarly standard.

## RELIGION

Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greekness. When the Greeks say "Is this a Christian?" they mean "Is this Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Through out the past centuries the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks oc-

cupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness

Epiphany the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives: their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success: it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine or in the sponge fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate Saint to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in and Saints and the Virgin invoked also when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one: the priest is called when the family has

monials however draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ or addressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding the release and spring release and spring risen and the true joyous resurrection of the renewed miracle: the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Studies of Whole Culture  
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# HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have  
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less secretly the prophet said that the Virgin Mary may vow a foot  
 pilgrim 40 daily blessings for period of time or

the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only half the amount of tuberculosis in the provinces as compared to the cities and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece as well as women dentists for many years but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However a woman is much freer to discuss gynaecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica* the maternity difficulties may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled blind lame means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were be-

Malaria the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance and which decreased production by sapping the energy is now almost completely defeated by

situation has been aggravated through the war in 1948 it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

# NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion. It has to be enhanced by special table arrangements. Everyone sits lightly at the table and sits at the table down in the smallest circle through out the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like quarrelling in Church. Not the entire

the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells and can be counteracted by magical practices.

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responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function but he could not fall into any known

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Malaria the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance and which decreased production by sapping the energy is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the cam

texture Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names Quaker Oats pronounced unrecognizably As yet it is food for animals and the word is reminiscent of stench According to Dr Katsgrau much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten thus means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe City people eat mostly white bread. In general city food which conforms to external standards more closely to the list of the nutritionists actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been much below that of the provinces even at a time when the villages were suffering from the deprivations of the civil war

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly Where olive-oil is not all used olives are where fish is not allowed fish roe is. In the provinces not much meat is eaten even before Lent in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk Lent does have an effect in this area milk is forbidden during Lent and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unsuccessful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period It achieved this with the cooperation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that if the cause was good it was not a sin to drink milk only once a day humanly I refused to do so after id to take on the responsibility of possibly I adding the people astray Greek holidays each have their appropriate food It is essential for the welfare of the nation, for the Greekness of the people to have this food at that time At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency it offered funds for the indulgence at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods If Greeks have any money to spend it is at such a time these foods have a priority over everything else

#### ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place the same unlimited progress what they want is better than the present rather than the known Modern Greek has lost the spirit of ancient Greece To express this in one word they actually wanted The American says "the sky is the limit" but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling in the same thin shell and know ahead of time The best is a dream of the peculiarities about the specialties about what he would like to see the present of the United States and he is the bycatcher not the future In the way the attitude towards change is related to the process



eat? Isn't food good? If they do not like the *eggplant* and *h*

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you without bread. In the villages the bread is brown and home baked and it makes a good accompaniment for dipping. If there is containing a variety of balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish (*fasoulada*) for example contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes and other vegetables and eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese provides a complete nutritive meal except that the proteins are not animal ones and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit or a leaf of lettuce or cheese this however is nothing to look forward to but at most puts a *point* rich

In the provinces very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served if at all as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays or when guests arrive or on other festive occasions there may be roast and potatoes these are baked together and constitute the whole meal. In the villages canned salad is served. Milk

valued or demanded the simple meals are much enjoyed and wealthy emigrants who have succumbed to the luxuries of the

the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities and people in their desire to take on American ways eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of

countrymen putting up with the same difficulties the same time-wasting operations the same discomforts but when they ask, "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used a chipped dish can still hold food a suit may have a few spots and still be

like a number 1 travel when capacity and have paid what they are not the common ailments of lives and one learns to cope with the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with a sticky Near Eastern candle pushing freight car been destroyed in harnesses products a sense of joy.

The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential and so too is that of the past, in endorsing practice as well as a precedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians the manual on child care which urges mothers to "kiss the babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child limb barbarous and tyrannical custom practiced by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles in newspapers in letters in the national conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the Greek *philotimo* must be

The are of vulnerability of change as well as the pattern of relationships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or young brothers within the balanced system of interdependency and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) which has been giving welcome aid to Greece just now is the spokesman of Uncle Truman after the President of the United States but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically impersonally is

of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand that which is a plan to an American organizing and inciting to action is a dream to the Greek leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans in the future tense what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign trained technicians who say "When I get to be I shall do . . . " for people who say "If I were . . . I would do . . . " there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand the plan based on the non-experienced on abstract calculation is meaningless to people for whom experience is body patterned. More than this such plans repre-

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ing a only a known plan repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example when a girl is 10 or 12 she may start working on her dowry a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal arising from the rhythm of life it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties such as for example in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without

clear obvious results. Much of the success of new practices is based on the demonstration of change. Americans are ready to accept specifications or or something more

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length since it is basic to many of the proposed changes: this is the phrasing of cooperative undertakings.

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments for the introduction of sanitary measures demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban scientific cultures of Europe and North America is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working toward an impersonal abstract end, the joining of a group created with a new toward a future end, and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate concrete situation and unless it is imple mented in terms of persons, is meaningless, what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education of the dowry members or for the village house together. A community consulting can create a co-operative personal loyalty of the kind, incidentally to be within the personal frame.

Again Greeks are different. They are born into the village, belong to within these membership. They do not lose their perhaps turn traitor to change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no Greek equivalent of the word group so common in the speech of Americans, words such as *mass* (mass) and *metabolon* (body) are used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, playing a trick involving co-operation otherwise what we find even in this opposition is cheating for the sake of a weak student, or support of one student by another. The care and individual friendships are individual evocations of

offensive there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity not to build a hotel to accommodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place so that they can retain the ways they like time-consuming as they are.

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested at any rate it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies but to the Greeks she is naturally inveighing against engaging a wet nurse.

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly and printed in the newspaper without offence. The government calls artificial insemination artificial reproduction. An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term insemination from recently and previously emigrated Greeks met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonika) had not heard of the programme and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands they obviously felt that the investigator as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions.

There is a recognized variety among Greeks and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in

around the place. Different regions have a way of life. The chance of the new the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are as a whole more ready for the new they are more enterprising more ready to take a chance on the future.



honesty The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern

Honesty exists and is expected and respected only where kinship and personal relations have been established on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth In American schools in the cities American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends and have thus changed the teacher student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own in foreign circles and failing to establish personal relations have evoked mistrust and dishonesty Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group However it should not be taken for granted neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece There is pride in the many co-operatives spread throughout the country there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there And there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village to be prevented from destroying its resources and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government All this is true According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units the Greeks were and to some extent are now communal villages were responsible villages were responsible villages were responsible peasant would improve the water system they carried them out they chose their own leaders The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century But later the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern taking no account of the existing units of co-operation or of the existing patterns of self participation The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact in co-operating The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair Actually the rate which was 8 per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928 and is now as high as 18 per cent with incidental fees which peas

future with new tools instead of taking his place in the security of a pre-established pattern based on human relationships has already been introduced

of the broad outlines of the Tiv

e

## RELIGION AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Basic to the very existence of the Tiv to the personal development, their human relationships their agriculture was their assumption of continuity between an individual and his kinship group and between man and nature—the land the animals, the non-human forces. This aspect of the Tiv culture we shall call the religious dimension of their life or more briefly their religion. It should be understood however that it was an ever-present aspect of their everyday activities of the interpretation of all experience and behaviour.

There were two systems of religious rites basically different and complementary. One had the function of tapping and internalizing the potency existing outside the individual in society and nature. This personal potency was known as *isav* and people engaged in activities which enhanced the personal potency were known as *mbia*. Such people with strong *isav* were able to wield influence over those with lesser *isav* motivated the people with no for es and e and cre- of natural rm l make





covered evidence of actual physical killings on these occasions.)

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accused of inflicting the death. Clearing oneself of a flesh-debt meant plunging others into a flesh debt and increasing one's *tsav* meant further sharing of human flesh and the incurring of further flesh-debts. So an elder in a family group was held in high esteem and feared partly because his strong and mature personality engendered respect partly because he could at any time use his *tsav* destructively to punish or avenge a wrong and partly also because the stronger his *tsav* the more flesh-debts he had to pay off and therefore the stronger the menace he offered to the life of his younger kinsmen.

*Tsav* however -  
 sonal potency acq  
 the common poter  
 concentrated and incorporated in varying degrees mainly in its male members for the benefit of the group. Antisocial *mbatsav* could and did use their potency for their own purposes and destructively but ideally they held their *tsav* in trust for the benefit of the group. If the land and the women were to remain vital and fertile *tsav* was indispensable to the group and had to be implemented through the organic medium of individual persons as representative of the ancestors as well as of the group of the living and the dreaded flesh-debt was actually the mechanism for increasing the usable *tsav* of the group.

The main communal function of the *mbatsav* was to perform the rites of revitalizing the land. Each patrilineal kindred and within this each patrilineal family owned a sacred

unit with it was bound the fertility of the land and of the women of the unit. It had to be revitalized annually and periodically in between with fresh human blood. In recent years, the blood of an induced abortion was used. The shedding of blood was actually a part of the other religious system the *akombo* but for these rites of the ancestral pipes men strong in *tsav* were needed and they maintained their *tsav* through

The Tiv were not organized politically they governed themselves according to an already present kinship. The largest unit under a single authority was that which has been called a kindred. This was a group of four or five extended families tracing their descent from a common ancestor. The elders of these families constituted the kindred council at its head.

The *akombo* and *tsav* systems met in the ritual of the ancestral pipes. These were actually *akombo* pipes inherited within the patrilineal kinship unit but the rights were performed by the *mbatsav*. For the performance of these and equally great *akombo* it was necessary for a man to be very strong in *tsav* personal potency had to be commensurable

disapproval of the men with stronger *tsav* who might thereupon destroy him

Both *tsav* and *akombo*

Withcraft The men strongest in *tsav* and highest in the *akombo* scale were naturally the senior elders. And herein lay the sanction and the source for their authority. The leader of the kindred knew the rites of all the *akombo* of the families constituting the kindred. The *mbatsav* societies

acquired the know

Through this he d

council of elders. The welfare of the land and of the group was vested in him so that if he failed in any respect if he did not maintain and refresh his strength he spoiled the land

A grasp of these religious systems is essential to understand

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

membership in the group and a right to the great *akombo* he  
 as dependent eventually on his father to supply him with a  
 daughter to be given in exchange for a wife. He could achieve  
 social status only through initiation into the group cults he  
 physically in  
 in his group  
 as any Tiv  
 and spiritual

However there was also another side to the grouping the  
 members had constant fear and suspicion of their  
 evoked  
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 who felt  
 persuade  
 group so  
 frequently  
 tightly interdependent, such occasions as  
 Besides everyone was aware of the elders' need to pay off  
 flesh-debts. This fear and suspicion found expression in the  
 great crises of life when the individual was vulnerable. Dur-  
 ing these a member of the mother's group was asked to officiate  
 at a funeral a man strong in *asav* because the father might

institution of the high marriage  
 Exchange marriage was the only valid marriage among the  
 Tiv and not the wife acquired in true exchange had high

a group of close relatives whose common ancestor was still living or well remembered if dead. They usually consisted of an old man with his wives and their immature children his sons and th

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council was said to own the land the women and the children for whose welfare and f

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same animal killed for the *akombo* purging. The affairs of each were the affairs of the group. They shared in the work they ate of the special dish prepared by the wife of one and drank of the beer brewed by the wife of another. At night they sat around a common fire while the women spun cotton and the children exchanged riddles until some older man began to tell myths. The Tiv referred to this group as that which ate the same *akombo*.

Within the *akombo* there were often a number of smaller lineages—those consisting of a man his wives and his married or marriageable children. This sometimes was coextensive with the *akombo* group sometimes more limited in numbers. It was known as the group which ate the same *ingol* that is the group which had common rights in the women born into it—the *ingol* or wards—who could be exchanged with members of other groups to procure wives. The group was bound in a web of interdependencies and interrelationships leading to and resulting from exchange marriage which will be described below. Within it a man thought of himself and acted not as an individual but as a member of the group. Everything he

those of his : gol Children were valued as *ingol* || girls as descendants || perform ancestral rites if boys and merely as offspring they were valued in themselves

Exchange marriage meant that the younger men had to wait for a bride. It also meant that they could

the preferred form and went counter to cultural principles giving individual freedom of initiative and choice. Another solution was for a young unmarried man to buy sexual rights in a woman of the same group. The girl was usually distantly related and the relationship was known as sister marriage. Such unions were temporary and the children

spring of an exchange marriage. After marriage a lively wisdom and status only through progress and initiation in the *akomb* of his group until he reached the highest of these

equivalent as person. There were unmarried brothers who



through exchange marriage could a woman assume this position

dead and living kin

The  
women  
primary  
community  
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family was regarded by the Tiv as an *ingol* group as the group which shared the wards and could divide them among themselves for the acquisition of wives

A man gave his daughters as *ingol* to his sons to get them wives however after he had provided two sons with wives, his immediate duty to his children was usually over and he could use the rest of his daughters to get more wives for himself Also there were cases where there were more sons than  
others

own wives with daughters to be used as  
intricate and strong net of interdependence here creating strengthening and continuing the kinship which bound the group

The marriage arrangements were themselves an expression of the unity of the *ingol* group The elders of the two groups

sexual rights in the bride on the part of the group  
expression of the vital concern of the group which was getting a substitute link in the chain of continuity and ensuring the validity and effectiveness of the *akombo* rites

with  
slighted husband might request one of those who were from

try When a first mother felt quickening she complained of the sensations and accepted proffered cures for them. A woman was expected to cry with her pain, and if a man quailed at pain he was called a girl. When child birth pangs set in, the woman groaned continually. According to the Tiv writer — he representing a man's limited knowledge if it continued for was suspected and

The woman lay in bed while in labour. When the child was about to be born the midwife was sent for. She made the woman sit up straight and rubbed her stomach "to cause the child to turn around" and when the child was actually emerging, a boy was sent to get a fig leaf for the baby to fall on. If the baby did not cry immediately cold water was thrown over it. The midwife cut and bound the umbilical cord, bathed the child in hot water outside and massaged the navel. When the mother went outside and bathed she was buried there whenever she was where the fuzziness and its bath and then the child was held downward by the umbilical cord. The umbilical cord fell off that of a boy was buried under a red pepper shrub so that he should be fierce, brave and dangerous and that of a girl under a pawpaw or a fig so that she should be gentle. The child was not taken out until the navel cord had dropped off in about three days and no one could come visit

be poor and ill —

pare — Child now much enjoyed by the and mother as well as

E p cl p 295

lb d pp 227 2

lb d 301

lb d 302

Ab h m op ci pp 150-151 East, p cit. p 302

Ab h m op ci p 152

lb d, p

ily to the kindred it was discussed in council the wronged individuals aired their complaints and things were usually brought to a workable solution

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 age mates who went through the stages of boyhood development more or less contemporaneously A boy had to have his

of all perhaps was the fact  
 t the dangers of one's own  
 to avenge the trav death of

its members

## BIRTH AND REARING OF CHILDREN

A Tiv married to get children The production of numerous children was the main function of life A man without child however successful he oman however excel was childless ith closed body " She husband took her to her group for *alombo* rites as soon as her pregnancy was known and for more rites thereafter There was a series of  
 h e and h u o m of v n e d i n e v i l o c c a

try When a first mother felt quickening she com-  
the sensations and accept d n  
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edge labour usually lasted two days and if it continued for  
more than five days at mbo interference was suspected and  
th. d vicer was called.

The woman lay in bed while in labour When the child was  
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woman sit up straight and rubbed her stomach to cause the  
child to turn around, and when the child was actually emerg-  
ing a boy was sent to get a fig leaf for the baby to fall on If  
the baby did not cry immediately cold water was thrown over it  
The midwife cut and bound the umbilical cord bathed the  
child in hot water outside and massaged the navel When the  
afterbirth had emerged the mother went outside and bathed  
her vaginal region with hot water And thereafter whenever  
a boy at the left of the entrance To cure the child of dizziness and  
a mother washed her baby she did so over the place where the  
placenta had been buried. To cure the child of dizziness and  
"fear" she threw it up two or three times after its bath and  
then held it head downward by the feet. When the umbilical  
cord fell off that of a boy was buried under a red pepper  
shrub so that he should be fierce brave and dangerous and  
that of a girl under a pawpaw so that she should be  
gentle The child was not taken out until the navel cord had  
dropped off in about three days and no one could come visit  
during this period

The new mother bathed and massaged her breasts with hot  
water and rubbed them with camwood t b ing on milk Until  
her milk came other women fed the baby In the beginning a  
baby received only milk d water  
A sucking baby slept between his parents later he slept  
next to the wall besides him th A woman was not allowed  
to have intercourse with her husband until the baby walked  
but if he had begun to menstruate again she could have  
recourse to it h w ed the child. But she should not  
become pregnant while the child was still nursing lest her milk  
be poor and the child be weak and bring disgrace to the  
parents

Children were made to enjoy father and mother as well as

E p 293  
Ib d p 29  
Ib d 301  
Ibid 302  
Ab h m  
Ab h m p 150 151 East up cl. p 302  
Ibid p 152

other nurses took care of the very young. The baby was encouraged by all to start walking and people remarked on his early steps. He learned very early to swear to the pride of his mother who showed him off to everyone's amusement. He soon started to go about with other children and a boy soon learned to kill crickets hitting or trapping them. At this point, he began to contribute to the family meal as crickets were a delicacy if there was no other meat available for dipping sauce. The elder sent a boy to get a cricket, and shared it with his guests. As he grew a little older a boy learned to shoot lizards with a sharpened raffia mudrib. When the boys were ready to start shooting birds their fathers made them bows that were easy to string and arrows tipped with sharpened cornstalks. Although the boys were given freedom to roam <sup>and</sup> <sup>implying</sup> meat, they were <sup>and security</sup> <sup>rested</sup> the fathers saw to it

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P n shment was mainly in retaliation rather than discip-  
kind's son

sore eyes or a pain. A parent would curse him taking away his luck until the son could effectively petition for peace.

## THE STATUS OF WOMEN

were highly prized as they were essential for the pro-  
the Tiv are said to have  
long as she was capable

of bearing children and had a good character although now she has to be pretty and her child bearing ability is not important. Women were also prized for sexual reasons continence is a great hardship for the Tiv. Women and food are the two things about which a Tiv will boast. Imprisonment and death itself are hard chiefly because a man leaves his women behind. Yet wives were not well cared for unless they were sister substitutes acquired through exchange marriage. Otherwise, they might be left to starve or go without clothes and be treated without respect or consideration. Such wives could be mistreated with safety since being no blood kin they could not inflict *tsav* death the exchange wife however having assumed the kinship rank of the sister could do so.

According to Western standards women were not equal to men. If a murder was compounded instead of being avenged two women would be accepted by the unit in the place of the dead man. Women were owned by the men of their family and even after marriage when their "waist" belonged to their husband a group their head still belonged to their owner's group but men were not owned. And a man who managed to seduce the chosen bride before the completion of the marriage while he was sleeping in her hut, might refuse to marry her whereas he himself was not blamed. Submitting to seduction meant that a woman had no strength of will. If beer was sweet, it was rejected by men as the beer of women and children, as not being good. Women had no part in making their own marriage though actually they were formally questioned during the marriage negotiations and they sometimes tried to kill themselves as the only way out of a dreaded marriage.

Yet women did have a high status. They had complete control of the food-supply of the village their authority in domestic affairs was hardly ever questioned when they had their husbands respect and co-operation. When they had been habitually married they usually accepted their place as exchange wives with the traditional interdependence of the unit and some women in the *mb tsav* group.

## FOOD

Eating and drinking were highly social. Most of the meals were social cases with the family eating together along with others of the group. The early morning meal might be a

Ibid. 112

Ibid. 334

Ibid. p. 313

Downes op.

East 74

Ibid. 115

Ibid. 1

Ibid. 74

Ibid.

solitary affair but even at daybreak feasts were sometimes given when a wife prepared a special dish of *shuma* beans in which guests gathered invited and uninvited. Eating was a part of the exchange marriage proceedings a gift of a chicken was taken from one group to another and it was eaten by the group. The flesh of sacrificial animals was shared by those members of the lineage who were initiated in that particular *akombo*. A guest from another clan was always offered food

convivial occasions. Beer figured in patterned festivals also.

Eating was enjoyed, and there is no suggestion in the literature that there were any feeding problems for children. There were general preferences. Pork was the favourite meat but was taboo to most women. There were special recipes for the large variety of greens seeds tubers and condiments which were a part of the diet.

Certain regulations accompanied eating. The guest followed a special etiquette showing no undue eagerness for the food and giving special portions of the chicken to the cook and the

applied to the dipping

were warned against

and pepper sauce were

flung into their faces. In this way the danger of sharing in a dish which might contain human flesh was brought home to them.

Women were the cooks on ordinary occasions and they were considered to be the owners of the food. On ceremonial occasions however as when a chicken was killed for a guest or in the case of an animal sacrificed in an *akombo* rite the men were the cooks.

haps containing some kind of meat. Fish and game birds and crickets were eaten when available. Domestic animals were killed and eaten only incidentally their main func

eating the head of an ox. Children ate meat during the frequent *akombo* rites boys foraged for themselves killing crickets lizards and

body and the rest of nature. This was the principle behind ceremonial cannibalism where the victim's potency became part of the eater. And in pregnancy if a woman ate the flesh of a brave animal her child would become strong or if the animal eaten was timid, the timidity would be imparted to the child.

# WORK AND CO-OPERATIVE PATTERNS

Tiv children mixed work and play from earliest years. Little boys went about killing crickets lizards and birds learning to track, observe and hunt foraging for themselves and also bringing home some of this small game at the request of elders for their meal. But this was not work in the eyes of the Tiv. Children ran many errands and had special sections of an undertaking allotted to them in house building agriculture and even at child birth. On his own initiative a boy might bring wood for his father's meeting hut but otherwise the work that these children did carried no responsibility for initiating or bringing to an end. Only when a boy made his own yam heap when he was quite grown, did he really start to work, according to Tiv concepts.

For full grown men also the yam heap was the test of work, and when a man went beyond this and thatched the yam heaps, then his wife knew that he loved her. The rest of the farm work was often arduous but the Tiv spoke of it as part of the ordinary course of living. Hard work and the ability to do it formed an aspect of the admired personalty particularly in women. When Akiga describes the woman who got up at break of dawn to bake and peel a yam for her husband who spent the day bringing wood and water and pounding for the yam and working in the fields and who sat spinning for the yam freight while her husband told tales he presents a glowing picture of the good wife. The sound of the pounding of the yam was the sound of life. The sound of the yam was the sound of life. The sound of the yam was the sound of life.

The ordinary day was a part of the seasonal work in the village with variety coming from special occasions such as arrivals with various dances. Festive days themselves had a dramatic quality. Each crop had its own farm pattern of activity. A man's life was not patterned in this way but his pattern of activity was a sequence of operations. But the work of a man was a man's work.



an isolated individual or in a group working together work was social in nature. A woman worked to fill her husband's needs and to help him get wealthy by spinning cotton for him to weave into cloth for sale. She also took care of his children for him. A man cleared land for his wife, built her a frame for a house, and worked for her in a variety of other ways. When boys caught small game for their own eating, they were not working. On the other hand, even when a man worked at developing himself, reaching the various stages of *akombo* or

changes of recent years wrought havoc. For example, now

Each operation had its own division of labour. In house-building, for example, the man's role was set, as well as the

rafter, and the interior. And with the work concerning each crop, the

the workers. In all this, though, the children were helped

Ib d pp 53 56

Ib d pp 66 68

Ib d pp 69 70

Ib d pp 83 91

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MAN AND NATURE

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nal male progenitor was alive or at any rate vividly remembered. Everyone who had come from this body whether an-  
 continuous

There was he land on which this had been grown, except when it was the food of foreigners. What emerged from the body carried this continuity. Elders forced to travel away from the land carefully

with its placenta and for some time after birth was bathed over the spot where the placenta was buried and the water left in the vessel was then poured over the spot so that the body dirt could go towards refreshing the placenta. A man estab-

basic to every aspect of Tiv living which was maintained by exchange marriage since only through taking the place of the sister—as continuous with the body of the parents—could a woman pass on unbroken continuity to the children of the

mouth and then spat out by way of washing away lurking resentments of litigants or unconscious ill thoughts and wishes which might bring pollution during a delivery for example. However usually it was not necessary for the water to be in physical contact with the person to be ceremonially cleaned.

## HEALTH

Health is treated here under a separate heading only because as a separate concept, it is important operationally to Western

Abraham, op cit pp 17 18

East ■ cit p 303

Downes p t pp 12 13

Ib d p 63 East, op cit pp 29 30-32 235

work. There was no such concept among the Tiv apart from the natural order of things. It was normal for people to have to be attacked by only

the  
idea  
of

was being used against him. If nothing interfered all was well through out all aspects of living.

Disease when prolonged or out of the ordinary was interference just as an influx of red monkeys into a field was interference. Therefore most of the medical practices were agricultural practices as well. However there were ordinary

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Septic  
Except for this, the author has set this interpretation.  
The main point was very much like modern Western

increase in *tsay* and they were performed for the whole unit  
and its land. A householder performed the rites which  
protected his own household against evil. Apart from prevent-  
ing there were the sterilization rites. — of blood was

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putting up the proper shelter as well as to pay for  
the steps involved in running the hospital and he had to be  
paid for the sake of the patient since otherwise the cure would  
fail. For the preventive rites performed at times when the in-  
dividual was particularly vulnerable because his blood  
shed there were additional rules. An operation such as circum-  
cision for example was preferably performed in the  
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*tsay* who could be trusted — was only because one could go

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— — arms but he could not cry out since  
who sat behind

D wnes op c t p 111

E st p c t p 31

Ib d pp 19 20 208 9

Ib d pp 357 61

Ib d pp 30 31 122

Ib d pp 208 9

Ib d p 27

Ib d p 43

Ib d p 33

he was a man and crying was only for girls. If he was hesitant  
formed an age-mate who had

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will sell

European hospitals and medical practices ran into difficulties  
when one or all of these rules were overlooked and they were  
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Why and the people naturally dread the experience of  
have

## DEATH

Ib. d. p. 88

Ib. d. pp. 27-29, 37-41

Ib. d. p. 352

Ib. d. 353

D. wnes p. cit. p. 41



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Th blood of m trusti g wom n was dang rous to  
m hunt g k mb It was be t for a men trusting woman

1b d p 1  
1b d pp 2 49  
1 d p-44-49  
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there was grief. All such death came through the *mbatsav* except for very young babies since all others had some *tsav* which helped them to withstand *akombo* interference until this could be recognized and expelled. And no death could come unless the *mbatsav* so decreed. When someone became ill and did not soon recover with ordinary medicaments a diviner was called to find which *akombo* was interfering with recovery. If the appropriate *akombo* rites were carried out and there was still no recovery then *tsav* was known to be at work. In such a case only *mbatsav* could effect a recovery by deciding to withdraw their killing *tsav* and only they were responsible when illness eventuated in death. For this reason European physicians were never given credit for a recovery and neither were they blamed for a death. They could ease pain and give other treatment but recovery and death were

no man's wife I have bewitched no one nor eaten human  
flesh with any yet death is killing me for no cause If  
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Men and immature girls died in their own village a wife however was sent to the village of her birth to die among her own kin who could then be held responsible

#### COMPLETION OF THE BODY

- Ib d p 20  
East op c t. pp 250-51  
Ib d. p 181  
Ib d. pp 181 362  
Ib d. pp 220 21  
Ib d pp 319 110  
Ib d. p 253

they became complete. For boys there were more operations  
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Blood was used to em-  
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Ib 1 p 2  
Ib d pp 26-4 49  
Ib d p 4-49  
Ib d p 49



the emblems were set to guard the  
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 eyes would be of  
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# TRUTH AND EVIDENCE

Truth was not arrived at by observed evidence but by divina  
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Ib d pp 185 86  
 Ibid. pp 83 87 9 92  
 Ib d p 9 D wnes op cit. pp 61-62  
 East op ci pp 65 66  
 D wnes p 64  
 Abrah m p ci p 99  
 D wnes p 75 East, op cit. pp 235 298  
 Ea 2  
 Ib d pp 277 78 D wnes op ci p 75  
 Abrah m 1 52 East, p cit. pp 284-89  
 n East, op cit. 277 78



other destruction at mbo emblems were set to guard the property transgression against them brought specific illness  
 Since the thieves would be of control of any  
 from another and this meant crop until the  
 of it, such as a kombo emblem

outside the house

The old way of cultivating the land was with a wooden hoe  
 It is difficult to tell how the substitution of iron tools has affected agriculture Iron was magical a thing of awe and was highly protective particularly against sorcery

# TRUTH AND EVIDENCE

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brother was to work at this house for  
 Men accused by British officials  
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- Ib d. pp 185-86  
 Ib d p 83-8 91-92  
 Ib d p 92 D wnes op cit. pp 61-62  
 Eas op ci 65-66  
 D wnes p 64  
 Ab abam p 99  
 D wnes p ci 75 East, op cit. pp 235-298.  
 Eas 2-2  
 Ibid. pp 7-8 D wnes op ci p 75  
 Ab ab m op 1 p 32 East, op cit. pp 284-39  
 East, op ci pp 277-78



usually brought to an amicable solution after discussion in private or public.

When courts were established the Tiv began to bring every small matter to them glad to throw the responsibility for the solution upon an outsider. Many matters which would have been settled normally after some enjoyable discussion were now brought to the district court. The British officials were overwhelmed by the amount of litigation and very much impressed by the fact that practically every case involved an exchange marriage or a difficulty at some point or other. They were shocked to discover that daughters and sisters and nieces could be handed over without choice of their own for the procurement of a wife that they were owned by the male kinsmen. And it seemed a travesty of human rights that a young man should be entirely dependent on the goodwill of his brother or father for a wife that he should sometimes have to wait until middle age to get one while his father could enjoy 10. They worried about the young children who could be turned over to their uncle in another village if the man's wife did not bear many children to him. To British eyes this went counter to the rights of the individual, and against human good. As they saw (all these difficulties sprang from a custom which was not essential to the life of the Tiv) forms of marriage they saw that marriage by purchase was a wide spread African custom they saw it in existence among the Tiv and they decided that it would be perfectly safe to declare it to be the only valid form in the district of human rights they told the women that they were now free to choose whom they would marry and free to do so. Any man who was unacceptable or so at any rate the Tiv women interpreted the ruling.

The new marriage district was welcomed by the young Tiv in fact these had been common of the British with the laying in its favour. Since the territory and the paid employment of the raiding young men had discovered that they could get wealthy with the aid of their elders and with their arrangements they kept the elders for various reasons also support the marriage by purchase and presently a law was passed making marriage by purchase the only legal form. The women of the new district were flooded by a new even more kind of magic. A few of the witchcraft accusations were kindled with killing by witchcraft. The accused readily produced the young man's father support. They were eager to convince the young man's father support. They were eager to convince the young man's father support.





meant that the British decisions had spoiled the land for other reasons, also. Without exchange marriage the family group faced discontinuity no longer could the wife be continuous with the mother since she did not take the sister's place as a link in the chain of continuity. This meant that a man could not set the great *akombo* since no wife

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to marriage the land to pests and drought the machine-  
tions of evil *fav* could not be forestalled. The group had lost its ancestral right and power to protect itself from evil.

Women could now choose young husbands. But the new marriage did not give women the dignified position which the British administrators had envisaged. They did not now have the status that exchange marriage had given them, since they did not occupy the place of the sister. As the true representatives of the sisters they had been respected and given consideration and they had been protected by the group *akombo*. More than this the form of marriage chosen by the British administration from the Tiv forms had been one where the pattern was either one of impermanence—as when a man purchased only temporary sexual rights in a sister—or one in which the woman was a purchased slave in whom her group had abjured all rights so that her very life was owned by the group of her marriage. So women now try to achieve position through power over their men through the threat of divorce that is easy to conceive in a pattern whose essence was impermanence and many afraid of the *tsav* of the group and lacking the protection of the *akombo* do leave. Before the new marriage laws the women's own lineage was intensely interested in the permanence of her marriage since if it was broken her father or brother would have to return his wife and disruption would come to the group now the group is not concerned in maintaining the marriage. Some actually encourages a break if a woman

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The new

is a dichotomy a "younger" generation which had not been present in the culture before. Age-mates had banded together forming a group which could frustrate the evil *fav* of the intensely interrelated kinship unit. But this grouping though it had actually set itself against the elder members of the family was not a grouping of young versus old nor not all members of one generation were united in the same grade and the family as a whole included the age-mates of a middle-aged man

ditional place through inspiring fear because through the new edict the delicately balanced equilibrium of roles and statuses had been thoroughly upset

The abolition of exchange marriage meant the introduction of individualism. A man could now get a wife through his own efforts without waiting his turn which depended upon the priority of claims within the group and without dependence on his father. In addition to get a wife he had to please a woman his acts were motivated by future aims not by the established past. It was not enough for a man to become more and more Tiv by going through the pre-established stages of social development. It was not necessary to incorporate the community any more or to act as a member of a unit. The past embodied in the elders had lost its meaning. Women did not insist on ear-ornaments so ear piercing a stage of the progress towards adulthood fell into abeyance. They did not care for circumcision so this important rite was no longer essential for development. Identity with the group through increasing participation in it according to the traditional procedure no longer provided the motivation the future not the past became motivating. Change now received a sanction from the women they chose the men who had the newly introduced form of cicatrization as well as those who had the new type of vaccination mark. They used these marks to distinguish the young from the old incidentally this provided a reason for their continuance. So now the great avenue through which all had developed into stages where they had power of choice and of action was by passed. The elders who had reached the point where they were entitled to choose or to speak before others at a gathering or to take a wife without help from others through slow organic increase in being through incorporating society and nature bitterly resented the fact that men and women who had not attained this right within their persons were suddenly given it by British law. Women could now interrupt an elder in the midst of a speech since British law had given them clais to sc at h with a woman could leave her old husband since th British had said that women could do as they wished. Wh t the British did in this case was what they had done when they chose native officials and delegated authority to them conferring power from the outside that had not grown organically within the body of the person. And the elders r t l t e l a they did when a man with insufficient tsa acquired high akomho power they turned the r tsa against him. The l m of in flicting tsa deaths were sustained by the actual state of affairs since at this time the country was swept by a wa of epidemic deaths.

To the elders the abolition of exchange marriage had

for all of Palau, and this group of islands was transferred formally to American trusteeship the Trust Territory came into being legally in July 1947.

There are now a few more than 6 000 inhabitants living in Palau, including, in addition to the indigenous population of Chamorros from the Marianas peoples from other islands of Oceania, and from Korea, China and Japan. In Palau eyes anyone who settles in Palau with the intention of remaining indefinitely and who accepts the duties and way of life of the native population is a member of the society. It is a violation of etiquette and a technique of abuse to remind individuals of their origin. The largest foreign element in Palau before World War II was the Japanese and Okinawan populations.

The population of Palau was formerly many times larger than it is at present. Numbers fell sharply during the early years of contact with the outside world. There is less than it is in Palau as a whole. In Palau there is a population density rate which may make for a population density rate of Babelthaup to 333 or computed realistically social and economic resources the utilization of resources concerning combination of information of phosphate on the island of Angaur has reduced sharply the land available for raising food there and has made for pressure of population.

Every class and household on Babelthaup now has access to land. With the decline in population, landless class no longer exists.

The size composition and distribution of the population dropped to a point where it seemed doubtful that the society would survive. More than 150 villages disappeared for there were not enough people to perform the traditional functions and to qualify for the various specialized roles contained within the ancestral social order.

There has been complete opposition to the introduction of modern medical care.

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might combine for retaliation against a slightly older brother. A regrouping and a redividing took place then which was disruptive of the structure of the unit. In the same way the equilibrium between husband and wife was upset. Whereas before the wife had been concerned in adding to her husband's wealth spinning cotton for him to weave into cloth which he could then sell, now the young men complain that their wives expect them to spend their earnings on them, demanding that they buy them cloth and other trade goods upon threat of leaving them.

## PALAU

### INTRODUCTION PLACE AND PEOPLE

The Palau Islands lie north of New Guinea and east of the Philippines. Babelthaup, the largest of the islands, is over 150 square miles of rolling volcanic hills whose highest elevation is under 700 feet. All of the islands are narrow, the widest one being only 18 miles across.

Palau was politically autonomous prior to the nineteenth century. No outside group had ever attempted to conquer it, and it had no aspirations to conquer any outside group. There were intermittent migrations into the islands from surrounding areas and continuous transactions with neighbouring peoples. During the past century and a half, Palau has experienced cultural contact with many peoples who were among the world powers. Spain formally exercised control over Palau from 1885 to 1899. Germany for the next 15 years, Japan during the 30-year span from 1914 to 1944, and since then, the United States. The relative brevity of the Spanish and German eras, in addition to the absence of Spanish officials and the small number of German ones—in contrast to the Japanese—limited the extent of the influence of these two powers on native life. With the end of World War II, the American forces assumed full administrative responsibility.

This study is based on field observations made in Palau, gathered by the author, Dr. John U. Miller, during his visit to the island in 1944. It is based on the data collected during his stay in 1944. It is based on the data collected during his stay in 1944. It is based on the data collected during his stay in 1944.

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The population of Palau was formerly many times larger than it is at present. Numbers fell sharply during the early years of contact with the outside world and then slowly began to recover. There is little prospect of an over population problem in Palau as a whole in the next few generations. However within Palau there is a wide range in density between localities which may make for population pressures in particular places. Population density ranges from 4 persons per square mile on Babelthaup to 333 on Koror. The map land area cannot be computed realistically without taking into account intervening social and economic factors which determine the accessibility to resources. The utilization of available land and foreigners' decisions concerning land allocations etc. For instance the combination of inter village conflicts over land use and the mining of phosphate on the island of Angaur has reduced sharply the land available for raising food there and has made for pressure on population.

Every class and household on Babelthaup now has access to land. With the decline in population, a landless class no longer exists.

The size composition and distribution of the population dropped to a point where it seemed doubtful that the society would survive. More than 150 villages disappeared, for there were not enough people to perform the traditional functions and to qualify for the various specialized roles contained within the ancestral social order.

There has been comparatively little opposition to the introduction of modern medical care and sanitation. The recent trend of growth has led some clans to reactivate extinct households and districts and to make plans for the re-establishment of ancestral lineage. Planning for the future was notably lacking in the society but now people say it is not our custom to worry about the future but we know we are in a new day and must work for the future.

The crude death rate has declined, especially among females

of child bearing age The mortality rate for infants and children has continued to be th h h Th

**23 SEP 1991**

These incessant movements give a special character to Palau life. To an outsider communities seem nearly empty during the

of a B Ith children with them on visits. By adolescence young people make frequent trips around Palau on their own. Even the very old spend much of their time travelling from branch to branch of their clan.

## ECONOMIC TRENDS

Since the beginning of contact with the West Palau has developed a dual yet integrated economic order one segment consists of a subsistence economy using a tradition-oriented handicraft technology and the other is a commercial economy with a foreign-oriented machine made technology. The two sets of patterns are structurally interlinked and functionally interdependent. There has always existed a degree of commercial enterprise in the traditional economy. Today the foreign economy is regarded as being as much a part of Palau's tradition as the subsistence one. The majority of adult males en-

wives clans A sorcerer except in matters concerning the weather chants aloud and waves his arms to turn away a local shower ■ so many American dollars per day Fisher men toss hand grenades into the sea to catch fish and then

not their catch according to those which are taboo those which go as tribute to the *elite* and those to be sold on the open market or consumed. A nativistic leader waves a red flag (an ancient symbol of power over one's fortune) to deflect the course of bombers overhead. A Japanese trained local business man produces with chain belt methods handicrafts of traditional style to acquire sufficient American money to purchase a piece of Palau money so as to enhance his family's prestige and bargaining power in competition for the headship of a district. Sears Roebuck catalogues are consulted for buying implements to substitute for those which they have forgotten how to or do not wish to make. A meal may be comprised of a mixture of American canned and South East Asian dishes on a table made of Philippine driftwood eaten with German silverware in a commercial restaurant housed in an American Quonset hut which has been financed by a Japanese credit pattern and is operated by a native clan as a family enterprise while a Japanese version of an American phonograph plays African-derived dance music. These are merely illustrations of the interconnections between the traditional and newer forms of economic patterns in contemporary Palau.

Contact between the foreign and native economic systems began with the intermittent visits of private traders who were eagerly welcomed by the natives and the German and Japanese eras brought about the dual economy. Production for profit was made a central theme the virtues of the work ethic were indoctrinated into the younger generations through schools and output were offered in foreign goods. Numerous new crops and livestock were introduced. Scientific experiments in agriculture were undertaken and the findings taught to native farmers. Implements suitable to the local industries were developed at modest prices. Suds were granted to expand indigenous cultivation and where these proved insufficient national persuasions and capital concerns were used. Joint governmental and private enterprises were formed to market native products to metropolitan markets. Joint native and foreign enterprises were formed to exploit the islands. Groups of foreign experts were sent to explore the potentially useful resources and to work out feasible means for their development.

As Palau output increased exports rapidly mounted and surpassed imports which continued their upward trend. The growth of the Palau economy was reflected in the steady increase in the number of foreign clothes bought many



of child bearing age. The mortality rate for infants and children has continued to be rather high. There are twice as many deaths among male as among female children.

Although the locations of districts, villages, and households are relatively fixed, the populations who make up the social groupings have a high degree of mobility in contemporary

is usually a relative to provide shelter and food

young people make frequent trips around Palau on their own. Even the very old spend much of their time travelling from branch to branch of their clan.

#### ECONOMIC TRENDS

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earn enough money to offer the customary *guth* to their wives' clans. A sorcerer, except in matters concerning the weather, chants aloud and waves his arms to turn away a local shower at so many American dollars per day. Fishermen toss hand grenades into the sea to catch fish, and then

sort their catch according to those which are taboo those which go as tribute to the elite and those to be sold on the market. A native leader waves a red

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po-ry Palau.

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#### ECONOMIC TRENDS

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port baskets of sweet potatoes to a neighbouring village for a

wives clans A sorcerer except in matters concerning the weather chants aloud and waves his arms to turn away a local shower at so many American dollars per day Fishermen toss hand grenades into the sea to catch fish and then

per fm th task and the man who wishes a new home hires others to construct it.

### SOCIAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE WORLD

The dominant foreigners have encouraged the people of Palau to participate in newly introduced programmes and to assimilate the foreign way and the people have welcomed each incoming group. There has been little hostility and no conspiracy on the part of the natives. Foreigners have made no systematic attempt to destroy or suppress the native social order. Official policy has been to support Palau's basic pattern. This has made it possible for individuals to gain foreign good and training without depriving themselves of the traditional security of the ancestral subsistence reciprocity mutual aid system. In the course of a life-cycle the young have worked with foreigners and then when old have retired to their home village. Clashes in the past have occurred between the two economic and social plans and native wishes but these have been fewer than those which have occurred in other comparable cases of the world.

The natives point to the progress they have made in the change-over from Spanish to German and from German to Japanese rule. They know that the United States is a far wealthier country than Japan and hence have greater hopes for the future. German aid has been great in social life and in material goods. Foreign aid has been great in prestige in Palau and has been welcomed as valuable additions even when less effective than their own. The demand is for more outside assistance and more modern amenities. There is little nostalgia for the past and no sense of loss. The changes brought about by the presence of foreigners have been gradual and have not seriously changed the structure of Palau. The traditional houses have been replaced by modern buildings. The traditional houses have been replaced by modern buildings. The traditional houses have been replaced by modern buildings.

The foreigners have been viewed as the source of ultimate aid and have been the primary force for social change. In the past, the natives have been scorned for their lack of contact with the world. But now, the natives have been scorned for their lack of contact with the world. But now, the natives have been scorned for their lack of contact with the world.

luxuries and dreamed of an ever improving level of living. World War II temporarily and rather sharply disrupted the existing economy.

producers for the native market and as a result villages with goods to sell have experienced a decided increase in their income. Those families which rely primarily on wage work have felt pressed. A rise also has taken place in the price of imported commodities.

Those in a position to do so have stepped up their use of traditional Palau customs to secure additional income to offset their deficits. For example during one three month interval study two-thirds of the families had contributed under mutual aid patterns and but one of four families secured income by these means. Because the circulation of funds under these patterns is not an equal one pressure had been keenly felt. This in part explains the mounting discontent among members of the younger generation who are primarily wage-earners and who are not in a position to use the mutual aid patterns as a source of income.

Occupational mobility is the expected pattern in the course of a man's lifetime. One reason for this is the comparative ease of migration and the availability of homes and relatives for temporary or even lengthy stays. Another is the fact that the kind of work a person does is usually less important than the amount of income derived from the employment. The prestige given to various kinds of work is in terms of the social status of the employed individuals. Foreign learned skills are not in themselves prestige giving. The Palau groups that want income opportunities to expand are not as concerned with a question of securing a particular type of employment as with the income that would come with it.

While the possession of wealth is a source of envy the expenditure of wealth for the glory of the family and clan brings added honours from all quarters. A feast given for some occasion which draws a very large number of people will be widely and favourably discussed as proof that the donor is really well respected. No self respecting village would build its own club house and few men would consider constructing their own homes in spite of the possession of necessary skills. The community pays another village of equal social rank to

Foreigners sometimes confuse symbolic acts of going native as proof of entrance into the native world. Natives in turn, occasionally think of themselves as moving into the foreigner's world by taking on the styles of speech, costume and behaviour of foreigners. There are matters which are seldom revealed by natives to foreigners or by foreigners to natives.

There are foreign facing and native facing officials with parallel social organizations to facilitate the co-ordination of the two worlds. Those traditional structures which have been revamped by the foreigner's rules combine both the foreign and the native ones. Incorporated into the social structure are those foreign-derived institutions known as the school, the hospital, the store, the police, the mission and congenies of governmental agencies. These have become centres where people congregate.

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power structure that has effective means for legitimizing its decisions and executing them makes possible collective action when issues threaten to disrupt the social fabric. This power structure is manned by skilled political artisans who are adept in devising effective means. Everyone is enmeshed in a constellation of connected groups and may be activated in a specified in an expected way.

Foreigners unaware of the complex social structure of the subtlety of all social intercourse of the sophisticated manipulations of affairs have blundered upon occasion. A labour relations expert hired by an engineering company violated Paliu ethics in his attempts to create good relations. He vaunted authority and crudely threatened coercion to people who respected only subtle indirect methods. He joked and teased informally through crude public demonstrations of affection in a society where this was tantamount to indecency. He playfully insulted the habit of ranking men, an act equivalent—in Western terms—to unbuckling a man's fly in public. On the other hand, generous treatment evoked the traditional pattern of reciprocity and graciousness and when the American military government, which fed, clothed and sheltered the people, asked for volunteers in the work of reconstruction, people responded but no pay was accepted even though there was a large percentage in modern money economy.



Vertical mobility in the titled class is of two general types—advancement through inheritance—the approved form—and climbing by manipulation which is always accompanied by what is regarded as the low ring of others. Commoners are reluctant to work for a wealthy man or one who has such aspirations of climbing for they feel it would be benefiting the entrepreneur and thereby detracting from their own modest likelihood of advancing.

There is little envy of the *élite* by members of the lower class for these positions are beyond the levels of aspiration of the ordinary person but some of the wealthy do have unannounced ambitions to enter the *élite* and have been able to gain titles. Until the Japanese era the *élite* looked down upon the wealthy without titles but now the wealthy are more acceptable as mates for children of the *élite* as political advisers and as economic associates.

A lower-class woman who marries an *élite* assumes his social standing only as long as they are married. In some clans by mutual consent, the husband's family may adopt the child en of such a marriage when there are no other heirs. Lower-class women cannot afford to marry *élite* women, and such marriages are strongly disapproved. The prospects of a lower-class person becoming wealthy is today limited.

The emphasis of the major local ties are known throughout Palau the lesser ones are not. Children are aware of the social system by the time they are 12 to 15 years old. Young people decide which kinship line to follow if they have a choice after ascribing the lineage which offends them the highest future status. In games the children of the *élite* serve leaders and when organized programmes take place in the schools especially for the *élite* children who have a fight with an *élite* child is scolded by his parents and warned that it may bring reprisals from his parents. The lower-class parents will visit the *élite* parents to apologize and make amends. *élite* parents urge their children to marry the sole of leadership as a man of proper training must be for the future life work. There is little inter-class competition within the schoolroom so the *élite* know their life is assured and feel no need to excel over others.

Class position does not determine the location of the household with the village but it does affect the quality of the home. During the Japanese era some of the wealthy lived in the *élite* homes. Today the wealthy members of the *élite* have been burned down and the American Quonset hut has replaced the old home. The differences between classes in housing and the differences between the American Quonset hut and the *élite* household possess one of the most conspicuous differences.





regulations Perhaps the most effective technique of social control was and still is the use of open scolding which puts a person to shame. The loss in reputation reflects not only on the person involved but also on his parents clan and village. Because the individual is so highly dependent on groups and can do so little as an isolated being he is most anxious to retain his good standing. A person could not run away and start all over again among total strangers. It might be better to move to another district, but this would require the approval of the chief of the new locality.

The primary defence open to those who offended was a verbal one. Fabrication of the facts was and still is a well developed art. A more common procedure is to acquiesce overtly to any orders given but actually to evade their execution. Verbally simulating compliance. The order might be enthusiastically applauded and then either misunderstood or worked at without ever being quite accomplished.

There are distinct differences between districts in the way the functions of administration were renowned for the use of violence in administration whereas in another district equally outstanding direct fines were more common. One chief was said to rule by resorting to coercion to secure obedience another by employing flattery and persuasion to activate others, skillfully working out social arrangements even in venting new customs which met the needs of everyone.

Everyone desires that an effective leader uses some deception and trickery. Many rulers maintain that to confuse the common people is in the open discussion of issues brings confusion and confusion covers their point out, knowledge about Palau regulations. Moreover, they point out, the Palau people are quick and enthusiastic for any new idea. It would be proof of weakness rather than strength of character for a chief to fail to sustain firm orders. Ambitious rival classes are alert to any opportunity to grasp the titles of those above them and neglect their duty in the distribution of rewards and the completion of projects. No one would be responsible for the corruption of anyone openly urging any of the reforms in the power structure—until the coming of the foreigner.

Neither the foreigners nor the natives possessed any strong notions of the traditional schemes for political administration. The foreigners were concerned primarily with the form of centralization and control. Some form of centralization appeared to be the rational solution, and as Palau natives were eager to take advantage of the opportunity to change their status they readily responded



adaptations into taxation enterprises capable of producing substantial sums

The introduction of foreign schools has provided an orientation for youth, which exalts foreign models of life over native ones. Spearheaded by the school teachers many younger people have increasingly favoured changes in Palau many of which would undermine the ruling class. Despite their criticisms of the *status quo* these groups of educated young men have not yet emerged as the dominant political force. They submit to the pressures of their superiors. Their right to attend or speak at high policy meetings is not recognized. Democratic precepts introduced by Americans have given Palau politics a new dimension. The younger generation for example has employed the theme of liberty to gain greater freedom from authority. The Palauan authorities have countered with the argument that the right to do as one pleased is not inherent in the concept of liberty. So surely the victorious foreigners in the recent war exercised group discipline. The inauguration of democratic procedures such as the popular election of chiefs has had few immediate consequences, but may have far reaching effects in the future.

#### FAMILY AND PERSON

There are five interlocking kinship systems which combine blood and social affiliations in varying ways. The fivefold units will be referred to as the nuclear family, the extended nuclear family, the household, the clan and the extended clan.

The nuclear family consists normally of a wife, her husband, their children and her household. By previous marriage since the German the tendency has been for married sons especially the younger generation to live separately. The older generation is more oriented toward the extended nuclear family.

Most men have but one wife at any one time. Polygamy under necessity was restricted to the elite and was permitted only to the nobles. It was not common until the 19th century when it was outlawed. More recently anyone with sufficient wealth could have two wives but today the need for political marriages and the foreigners have reduced marriage to a mere social function. The practice of the age of 40 or rather more permanent and is so that a man may be married as long as 10 years. Marriage which has been long as 10 years are not lightly abandoned. Divorce is possible but the incidence of marital change is small. Most marriages are either love matches or arranged.



federate clans from two or more districts. The extensiveness of the intended clan is correlated with class position. The

l send ry cco nts th n any other figure. There i n ad ge  
that a male title holder s expected f r h s power but a m as is  
low



### VILLAGES

The ordinary native's world still continues to be mainly that of his village. It is the centre of most social activities and it is one of the most cohesive social units in Palau. Loyalty to the home village is second only to that of the family. Though village solidarity is less intense than before acculturation it is more resilient than wider loyalties.

Individuals are subject to the regulations of the village in which they reside. A person who works in a second village is subject to the regulations of that village. However, the village regulations are not as strict as they were in the past.

Individuals are subject to the regulations of the village in which they reside. A person who is in one village who works in a second and lives in a third is subject to the last. However if he commits an offence in either of the other two villages, he may be punished by its chief and the chief of the village in which he resides has no authority to intervene. The consent of the village chief must be obtained for permanent migration in or out of the village.

Villages are ranked in social position according to their high ranking villages.

Villages are ranked in social position within each district. Persons who are contemplating a move usually prefer to settle in high ranking villages. The Japanese officially abolished village rankings but the major change was merely that the ranking system became unofficial. On the whole the older ranking system became more illagr rank-conscious than the middle grade ranking system.

There are 72 villages with inhabitants from three times that number. Villages with respect to political organization are ranked in social position within each district. Persons who are contemplating a move usually prefer to settle in high ranking villages. The Japanese officially abolished village rankings but the major change was merely that the ranking system became unofficial. On the whole the older ranking system became more illagr rank-conscious than the middle grade ranking system.

There are 72 villages with inhabitants formerly there were three times that number. Uninhabited villages still count as villages with respect to landownership legal residence formal political structure and inhabitants of titles. There are communities in which the population consists of several distinct separate villages for administrative and social functions although there are no geographical divisions between them. In some communities the village unit is other communities may have cells for the village unit in itself others with the chief and several houses but not in itself others with the chief and council of the village will act for the others with it. The village and more isolated villages tend to have fully developed institutions which the small one adjacent to other small villages will have relatively few adjacent to larger villages. They have physically and socially distinct but different types of villages.

Some villages are isolated and others with it  
larger society They have the small one adjacent to  
out of the village where they are socially isolated from the  
tion for the market limited to mail transactions with the  
Mumbai the banks incidental to subsistence enterprises  
A distance of 15 miles usually in its own self-dependence.  
ent to the village nearly the opposite in the or  
in the district to have a proportion of a rising ascendancy A  
the place of the community. The  
are common. Local resources are used exclusively





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Villages are ranked in social position within each district. Persons who are contemplating a move usually prefer to settle in high-ranking villages. The Japanese officially abolished village rankings but the major change was merely that the ranking system became unofficial. On the whole the older generation is more village rank-conscious than the middle and younger age-grades.

There are 72 villages with inhabitants but formerly there were three times that number. Uninhabited villages still count as villages with respect to landownership, legal residence, formal political structure and inheritance of titles. There are communities which the population consists of several distinct villages for administrative and social functions. In some communities there are separate divisions between them. In other communities the divisions are separate communities. In some communities the divisions are separate communities. In other communities the divisions are separate communities.

The large and medium-sized villages tend to have fully developed institutions where the small ones are relatively few. Some villages are physically and socially isolated from the larger society. They have a small number of visitors and in turn do little business with the larger society. They have a small number of visitors and in turn do little business with the larger society. They have a small number of visitors and in turn do little business with the larger society.



The districts which suffered the greatest losses in the very early period had either to devise methods for maintaining their status or to suffer a decline in position and wealth. They could not put as many war canoes into the sea and hence were more vulnerable to attack as well as lacking in bargaining power. When the foreigners established the industries they had less man power to contribute to the labour market, and could produce less native goods for the market, and were at a disadvantage in the rivalry for foreign money and goods. The foreigners located the schools in large population centres in the initial period, a further contribution to the decline of prestige among the smaller populations. Today several small districts with an eye to the future are resettling their old sites and exploring ways of hastening the growth.

The traditional council and the foreign-oriented council now constitute the two principal political bodies of the district in theory both are legislative and administrative. The foreign-oriented council developed on a limited scale in the German era in a few localities and was officially established in some districts in the Japanese period. Conflict between a chief of a powerful district and the Japanese administration precipitated the decision. The Japanese moved the chief and elected in his place a man from the male line of the same clan who by tradition could not head the ancestral council in order to form a group he could more easily work with in collaboration with the foreign ruler organized the foreign-oriented council made up of village heads. The traditional council was made up of senior ranking titles in the district and there was little overlap between the two. As an outcome of rivalry between the two units the traditional council became an organization occupied with traditional affairs while the foreign-oriented council concerned itself with modern affairs. Other districts soon followed this trend. The ancestral district council has proved to be a resilient social organization however and there is some sentiment among the élite that eventually it may be restored to its former dominance and incorporate the foreign-oriented council.

The role of the district chief also is a study in plural system. The chief of the district is the symbol of the demand of the foreign powers. The chief is the dominant figure in some districts though the palatine is one who faces the foreigners. In some districts the chief is the political arrangements and has turned his district into a representative institution. In many districts the chief is the administrative body. In many districts the chief is the administrative body. In many districts the chief is the administrative body.













protector for the village as a whole and its individual members

The average size of the villages is 200-250. Only two of the

Spanish American

over 600. A

(placitas) recon

along the river

down the road

small settlement

typical village

... as an integral part of a par

These villages which are the old Mexico of New Mexico do not stand out from the surrounding countryside. The sandy brown of old adobe and straw the tan plastered walls dark poles of the corral fences merge with the prevailing natural colours. Beyond the squares of the fields and the lines of the irrigation ditches lies the randomness of sage brush and tumbleweed wild flowers and grasses. Signs and billboards are absent, since these towns and villages are not for the chance stranger. They belong to people who

for the

the

to

the

# FAMILY

To be Spanish American is to belong to a structure

not far a

to be a

family

function as a unit and we

many with the help of their brothers and other relatives

But on their own house is an extremely nebulous

thing as for these particular persons in it are concerned.

Vigilance and discipline goes on constantly. The grandchildren

will stay overnight at their grandparents' house will

watch and learn when they return

family



The specialized roles of woman are concerned with motherhood and the care of others i.e. midwifery and curing. These specialties are in no sense careers. Any adult woman, usually one past childbearing age may gain the reputation of being especially successful in helping her neighbours in child birth or illness. Gradually she is called on more and more until she comes to be thought of as a *partera* (midwife) or *cuandera* (specialist in curing disease).

Spanish Americans love children and want to have many of them. Birth is a normal process in a different category from physical pathology and the *cuandera* is never called in—only the *partera*. From the beginning of brought into contact is called good for 40 rarely in others / away first will pick arrives 1 This does:

ports that she found no cases of conflict among sisters and almost no among brothers. The sibling relation is a cherished one of affection, companionship and interdependence. Marrott describes how a group of siblings given a ride to school arranged them selves in the car without any of the scramble for the drible positions which is often found among a group of Anglosiblings. The is pride and concern and spontaneous responsibility in the relationship a 13 year-old boy having to braid the hair of his little sisters or to cook their meals shows no sign of finding this a burden or a duty. Cousins fit into the sibling picture and brothers and sisters learn to take care of each other when young and continue the pattern in later life. There is an identification of interests and a general equality and on inheritance property is divided in equal shares. When an old brother has to assume the father's place how he allocates permissions with the father's authority rather than with the brother's permission.

Child is not separated from the adults and take part in whistling on as far as their development allows only wh important guests ride they withdraw with the from n. Th activities are seldom the centre of interest, their

Ibid p 13 14

Ibid p 8

Ibid p 6

R mah P rect op cit.

M l p ci pp 201 20



*Studies of Whole Cultures* 155

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Spanish Americans love children and women of them. Birth is a normal process and is not regarded as a physical pathology.

Spanish Americans love children and want to have many of them. Birth is a normal process in a different category from physical pathology and the *cu de a* is never called in—only the *parter*. From the beginning of a baby's life he is brought into contact with the extended family. Another woman is called on for first nursing as colostrum is believed not to be good for the baby. Traditionally the mother should nurse for 40 days. Even though nursing means a great deal, a child rarely stays away from the mother.

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others. A child rece  
away from the grou  
will pick it up and  
arrives this warm p  
This does not appea  
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nott describes how  
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braided the hair of b s l t i s ters or to cook their meals, shows  
no sign of finding this a b den or a duty Cousins fit into  
the sibling picture and brothers sisters and cousins I am to  
take care of e ch ther when young and continue the pattern  
to later life Th e s an identification of interests and a general  
equality and on inheritan p ope rty is d vided in equal  
shares When an id b th has to assume the father's place  
howe be also acts with the father's authority rather than  
with th b th r perm ss cs  
Child a e f separated f m the adults and take part in  
whatever is going n as f as their development allows only  
when important guests arrive do they withdraw with the  
m m u Th activities are seldom the centre of int rest, their

Ib d pp 13 14  
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is finished, the couple separates. Thus boy and girl solve the problem of being together by formally ignoring one another. This pattern of segregation of the sexes is characteristic of many aspects of Spanish American culture.

... to wife  
friend. Trad.  
par. is and t

a person must marry outside of the second-cousin degree of relationship. Divorce is prohibited by the Church and is actually rare. Where it does occur the man is apt to leave the community permanently. The marriage bond is a strong one centering in the welfare of the family rather than in the individual happiness of the members and powerfully reinforced by the sanction of the Church against breaking it.

When parents have many children they know that they will not be lonely in their old age. Their children will live near them and they will have grandchildren about them. As children give respect to their parents and have a somewhat indulgent respect of their grown children and grandparents command the relationship with their grandchildren. Age in itself is valued and honoured. Children are not expected to go farther and faster than their parents but to listen to their advice and learn from their experience. The truly aged are cared for by their children and other relatives. There is no traditional community system of welfare beyond the family.

The Spanish American has two major links with the world beyond his village. Both of these are derived from the family system. He is known through his relatives. The ties of brotherhood ensure his comfort and make him feel at home within the large Spanish American society. His father even more than his son, is the link with the total community Anglo and Spanish.

#### AUTHORITY

Leishman is provided through the par. system whereby the leading man in the community whether because of his financial status or knowledge of the outside world or his personal influence assumes a position of responsibility for the villagers. The par. system reproduces the family pattern for the community and the par. holds the position ascribed to the father.

Edm. son, p. 101.  
Ibid.

Muckh. 1941. cit. p. 1  
Van der Ee, op. cit. p. 5





patron allowed these families to graze small flocks or herds on the open ranges and to have free access to water and fuel resources. Dependence on the patron's kindness has been accompanied by dependence on his power, the fear of his ruthlessness, his unpredictability. It would be dangerous to oppose him.

The dominant male has something of a reputation for cruelty but this is not regarded as the ideal pattern of domesticity; the good patron is the good husband who is unselfish and violence has not been patterned. On the part of the dependent it is better to submit than to act in a way which will evoke anger and possibly violence.

# COMMUNITY

To be Spanish American is to be a brother. The basis of this system is again the family. It relates to the solidarity which is set up over against the father figure—originating in the unity of mother and children. By extension it is my group against others who may dominate. But it includes the atmosphere of fraternity as much as of opposition. The way in which Spanish Americans perceive themselves as members of the same or of different groups defines the situations of co-operation or conflict within the system.

The primary group is which every Spanish American belongs to: the family. The conflicts and hostilities which arise are interfamily and partly between unrelated families. Families may join in opposition to others on one issue and oppose each other on another issue. Those held together by substantial rests may disagree over a proposed marriage. In opposition to the family principle the women of the community make up one social grouping, the men another.

Characteristic of the Spanish American community is the absence of other formalized interest groups. The one exception to this is the *Parish Organization*. This is a religious brotherhood, its members in general being the poorer men of the community—probably those whose interests are least well represented by the patron and whose influence is otherwise negligible. The leader of this group is called *hombre mayor* not emphasizing the brother relationship (the brother to whom authority is delegated rather than the dominant father relationship). The *Parish* functions somewhat in opposition to the established Church. They bury members free of Church charges \$10. Where the family patron system fails to provide adequately for economic security the *Parish* takes care of members who are hard up making

Elkhart 1941, pp. 24-25

ibid. pp. 26-28

Michael P. Jones and A. L. G. G. 1942, p. 22

Edmund G. G. G.



remote centres these dances begin at sundown and end by midnight. In other communities they begin somewhat later and last till early morning. At fiesta times, celebrations may last most of the night. The people of the village gather at a central hall and a local orchestra plays. There may be fights among the men outside particularly with men who are from other villages. This is true so often that it seems almost an institutionalized pattern of defence of the women by the village men. One field worker was told

They do not like strangers around here and we figured you better get to know the boys before you go to dance. There are always a few who get drunk and they start pushing around the first stranger they see. It is not because you would dance with the girls but because you are a stranger. It isn't because you are an Anglo.

Church services, school meetings, political rallies and fiestas bring the whole village together. The church service is not, however, highly developed as a social occasion. It is an authority situation. When the service is over the women go directly home. The men may stop to visit or to warm themselves at the fire in front of the church.

School meetings, political rallies and fiestas are different. The Spanish American cannot enter into such community activities without obligation, and without typical Anglo restraint and self-consciousness. At a rally the patron is seeking favour more than dispensing it. He identifies himself with local interests. All the time we are for the People and against the

Fiesta: the occasion when the patron saint is honoured and celebrated. Traditionally a time of colour and gaiety. The honour of the village is involved in honouring the patron saint. Here he dominates than anybody else. At fiesta time the role may vary with the situation. Less a participant and more a beholder. Festivities are much in the spirit of baptismal washing celebrations when a few members are added to the community but on a large scale. Fasting and dancing go along with religious observance. The people are gay and there may be a demonstration most clearly that the Church does not function simply as a moral authority in Spanish America.

The structure of the village. They are both severed and bound together. Though them the sanction of the Church as persons are personalized and translated into the sanctuous community. And the relation to the saint is a unifying daily life so naturally that only the

R m b P  
F d m so  
b d p k



they plan to do something give answers like Right now about two or four o'clock

Work for wages in the fields

tendance for child

winter breakfast

holds eat only

Children may

to their first meal at noon In the spring the head of the family may ask to have dinner served when he comes home

from work at four The children will probably be fed when they return from school at about five

There is a round of seasonal activities correlated with the calendar and set within this established framework

But a definite future date unrelated to the patterned round of life does not have much meaning

Spanish American culture puts its major emphasis on the present and the future is expected to be like the present

These customs The past is not valued it validates the present and the future is expected to be like the present

As tomorrow leads to misunderstanding today he does not put it off till tomorrow But he frequently does put off the things which will bring him future benefits

which can be put off for *mañana* for tomorrow or any date in the future

The emphasis is placed for planning in this framework. Gatherings celebrate a usually spontaneous Children are sent

from home to help announce the dance or the fiesta or the party

help The Spanish American way seeping into the village through the school and through wage labour are introducing the need for planning

for planning present life still appears to run along the old patterns

Thorough orientation of the Spanish American pattern is not given although at first it appears to be It is not

so much that he looks toward the future but that he takes

measured advantage of the present He is an opportunist—not a planner

be must make a living the honour of his family and of his life

He must therefore perform with distinction in what he does

may arise as it arises

Edmundo

pp 18-19

Edmundo pp 1-42

Kl kh h 1941 p 1 p 19

Klu khoh i i op il pp 17-18



even for more everyday activities. This is much preferred to working separately at the same tasks. Tools of work are likewise shared. Co-operation on some occasions involves the whole village. "Though a man can be forgiven for a clandestine affair he will long be condemned for refusing to lend his farm tools to a neighbour or for failing to appear for annual clearing of the irrigation ditch." Working for oneself and not for an employer is thought of as desirable because then one is free to work at one's own tempo. "I rest a little." Tradition

are both in the nature of work according to the demands of the present.

## FOOD AND NUTRITION

Chilies, beans, milk and coffee with milk and sugar make up the typical Spanish American meal. The main body builder in the diet is considered to be the cereal food and green vegetables and meats are a relish, a luxury food, eaten for the sake of their flavour alone.

The Spanish American raises his own chilies and blue corn or wheat for mill flour. Home gardens also provide a wide variety of vegetables in season and onions, cabbages, pear potatoes, turnips, carrots, etc. which can be stored for use through the winter. In small orchards peaches, apples and apricots are raised. Each household keeps a few chickens. On a festive occasion an old hen may be killed and eaten. A pig may be slaughtered in the fall, so that pork and bacon are available for a time. Beef is the main kind of meat eaten, usually ground up in chilies. Milk is generally just for babies except for the little taken in coffee. Only a few households own milch cows. Cakes, cookies, candies, puddings are served on ceremonial occasions.

Food in the Spanish American household is set out when people want to eat. The father may ask that a meal be served. Otherwise it just appears. Men may or may not eat first, and often not everyone present eats at the same time. Neighbours relatives may come in unannounced for any meal with the household. An important guest is apt to eat alone with the head of the household. The rest of the household and local visitors will eat later. Children can help themselves to food at odd times.

Olsen, Leo. *Food and Chilies*. P. Loomis 1941 p. 19.  
Rasmussen Project, op. cit.  
P. Joan and Goubaud, op. cit. p. 38.  
Ibid.  
Rasmussen Project, op. cit.



## WORK

Work is an accepted and inevitable part of everyday life. It is a certain amount of trouble but there it is. No need to go out after it. Then it becomes *mucho trabajo* (much work). Spanish Americans are good persistent workers when they see a reason to work but they do not consider work itself a virtue. It is not common sense in their view to work just so as to keep the hands occupied or even to earn money when there is money for the current needs of the family because some other adult male is employed. There is no moral corruption in being idle or in staying away from one's job. A worker may stay away from wage work, but may spend the day repairing a neighbour's door or helping build a hen house for nothing. This is needed work and within the framework of community co-operation.

Everyone is expected to do his part but there is seldom any explicit mention of expectations. Duties are not discussed ahead of time and few verbal directions are given while working even where a good number of people are working together. The sons usually find something to do or may be assigned duties but they are not reprimanded if they are idle. Working hours are not specifically defined. The day begins between six and seven o'clock and people begin to be busy doing something. Since most of the people do about the same things, according to age and sex each is familiar with the work of the other. When one member of the family cannot get to work another will go instead. With jobs much alike the job has little prestige value. In the types of work Spanish Americans are equipped to do wages will not vary significantly as between jobs.

Although there is a clear distinction between men's and women's work women will do men's work around the place when the men are away. Men who are off herding or working in towns live together and share the tasks of cooking and minimum housekeeping without embarrassment. "I watch their mother at work."

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conc "present time orientation and a dependent psychology. Relief work in the depression was not thought of as being different." No one was shamed. No one was going to the dog. Work is shared. People do not want to be alone. It is common for a number of neighbour relatives to gather first at one place then at another for butcherings or plasterings and

even for more everyday activities. This is much preferred to working separately at the same tasks. Tools of work are likewise shared. Co-operation on some occasions involves the whole village. "Though a man can be forgiven for a clandestine affair he will long be condemned for refusing to lend his farming tools to a neighbour or for failing to appear for annual clearing of the irrigation ditch." Working for oneself and not for an employer is thought of as desirable because then one is free to work at one's own tempo. I like to work a little rest a little. Traditionally work and rest were not in opposition to one another but were often part of the same process. There was no eight hour work-day no special time for a siesta, no set bedtime for anyone no time for work and time for rest. Rest and work were both in the nature of things, according to the demands of the present.

### FOOD AND NUTRITION

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As one of the members of the community said I do not want  
 to die I will die Actually  
 I am old age.  
 I am old ages  
 I am old murder  
 I am old hat an

took no lives.

The acceptance of illness apparently was supported by this  
 picture because when, in 1934 for the first time in memory  
 a man died in child birth it was a shock to the community  
 for delivery

p. 131 n. brings prestige to the patient factors of skill



agrarian economy to wage work which began over 75 years ago was the development of migrant labour. The families remained in the villages the men went off to work following a pattern already set in ranch life under Spanish patronage—the general direction for adjustment in the villages more dependent on irrigation agriculture as their lands became overcrowded. The land was already overcrowded in 1875 and the coming of the railroad offered a source of cash income which continued on an extensive scale until 1929. It is estimated that one person from each family (the household) was a (seasonal) wage worker in the beet fields the mill was the sawmills the sheep-cannery about 1900—

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U  
ha

Though the men went farther from home many of the villages kept a high degree of solidarity. A second type of adjustment has been the development of crops for market. Since chili alone is regularly produced in surplus in the area, this has figured prominently in the change. But chili has not become a true cash crop. The farmer does not sell it for money and buy goods where he chooses so much as he trades for credit at the local store depending on the merchant as patron.

In many ways a third trend has become increasingly evident. This is the decline of the more isolated villages and the growth of larger Spanish American towns in more centralized locations either along main highway peripheral to the Anglo-U.S. within them (Old Towns). This appears to be the beginning of rural urban mobility of small household units but closer examination suggests that it is actually a village movement. People from the same village tend to move to the same towns and seek to re-establish traditional patterns there.

"Why did you move to Grants?"

Beca

I had to sow Bec u

ry dry I th L

Do you like it in Grants?"

N w yes

Why?"

Beca

I b

bl to w k I m

Alth ough Sp nish American p tions have lost much of their

contr l f omme cal landholding to Anglo most Span h

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are little changed by comparison <sup>a</sup> family life and <sup>earlier</sup> training and <sup>kinship</sup> responsibilities

The young person who seeks an Anglo adjustment not only needs new skills, he must also acquire a wholly different set of attitudes of aspiration and persistence. He must become an interst group unto himself. He must experience *solo*. He has grown up to be a person in need of a *pat ón* and may find himself without one. If he succeeds in finding a new father figure in the new culture then he may move further from the Spanish American way. His training has been against any self assertion except within the balanced rivalry structure of the family community and the competition in the impersonal Anglo system within a framework of unpredictability means an increase of anxiety. If he succeeds in identifying his new interests with an interest group in the culture then he may move farther from — <sup>w y</sup> Otherwise he

The family control which sustains work is being dug out of the community unemployment of the depression. It is the young people more than the fathers who are the contacts with the outside world. They are the strangers at home and undermine the family authority. They may even look down on him, if they have adopted Anglo attitudes.

The role of the mother is still one of care and nurture. Though a woman may have worked outside the home before her marriage it is very unusual for her to be employed after. She is excluded except in domestic work. If changes have been taking place in housekeeping and child rearing patterns they are in a way clear. Old people do not expect the same respect as before but the general acceptance of more traditional patterns as people reach adulthood implies that this is more in the particular relations between youth and age rather than in the total structure. Also some (old) people think that it is the responsibility of the children to take care of them in their old age. The children are not able to do so as they once were.

# URBAN PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE

The Spanish American pattern with his opportunity held out for a time against the growth of American ranching is fading.









come along a d say Hey you get to work " They choose to work for someone they know n preference to jobs of higher status by Anglo standards And h gher status is gained for the Span h American by wo k ng for a locally prominent par on rather th n by climb ng the Anglo ladder of unsk ill—

The id a of higher Spanish Ameri an The to a money e onomy times but this does no been accepted "Span sh Americans seldom y incentives have des: e to make a lot of money and become rich There is an attitude of cceptance toward the hierarchy combined with a far of ostracism for stand ng out from the group th t operates to keep Spanish America out f competitive work s tust ons. His status n his own community may be lowered rather than raised by a b evement—and he has no other community It is much more important to be than to do to be a good son or a good Cath l c or a good member of the village

R d with is continuous p ogramming i well suited to Spanish Americans who l ike listening to Spani h Amer can "folk mus and campaign speeches In the larg r communi ties there are now few or no major events wh ch bri g the wh l g oup together Th s i a sinking change from village life At home the rado is a welcome addition

Young pe ple hav taken o e Anglo rec eations but with ertain diff nces At d nces there is st l l formality in boy g l relat n h p and it s not quite right t ask d rectly for a date Boys nd gr l may g in separat groups to a show as befo but th y will pa off in th d rk—a st at on defined by th cultu as permis i e From her on the n w patt rn t kes o e t i a d t and couple ome out togeth It almost seems that without the mo es the chang could never have taken pla

Whe th boy and th g l marry and hav ch ld en how ever they m ly fath and moth not husband and wife Th ld pattern ass ris itself

## FOOD AND NUTRITION

A w d ariety of new foods s a labl to Spanish Americans and a numbe ha been incorporat d into the di t the ch ce has be n fl enc d by t d t nal att tud s t wa d food It is r l foods—th m n body build t ad t on lly—that have been mo t acceptabl m c on pot toes atmeal b cad d ugh ts c n amon bu s Alo with the int oduct on of R mah P ect, L Edm nso op t

the old manner but with new entertainment speeches are given in English and Spanish the school band performs but the scheduled time is disregarded and the occasion is a highly social and highly co-operative one

For the Spanish American it is still the present the known and sure which has meaning Even nativistic movements fail because the Spanish Americans want things as they are not as they were or as they should be There is no evidence that a Spanish American is interested in saving time He may buy a machine or a time saving gadget but does not become dependent on it While it runs good When it breaks down, there is no rush to fix it.

The past still validates the present and operates to slow the pace of culture change When a large landowner changed the source of the main ditch within his lands the decision at a meeting was against him even though it was admitted that this change would improve the flow of water in the ditch thereby benefiting his neighbours The change is a change

Spanish Americans have come to put great stress on the idea of education but it is always for the children It is almost never for oneself! Soon these children are old enough to go to work then to marry and settle down They want education—for their children The *manana* pattern carries along And in school the teachers have found it very difficult to motivate these children as they do the Anglo children in terms of future benefits—grades or better jobs or higher standards of living

The persistence of this orientation to present time in the face of the equally persistent future orientation of Anglos is central to the whole process of Spanish American acculturation

### WORK REST AND LEISURE

Spanish Americans have gone to work in the larger economy but they have not absorbed the pressure to keep busy They do not look forward to time off but incorporate the leisure with their labour They work by the clock only when they work for Anglos and if they have leisure they spend it in visiting the men on the job in streets or at bars the women at home Anglos consider Spanish Americans lazy and hence in large part responsible for their own difficulties Spanish Americans consider the economic pressures of Anglo society responsible for them

Spanish Americans react unfavourably to impersonal employer-employee contacts In Albuquerque the boss would

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## III CROSS CULTURAL STUDIES OF ASPECTS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

### AGRICULTURE

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The immediate need for agricultural changes arises from the



## RELATIONSHIP TO THE LAND

The relationship to the land is twofold: tenure and agricultural activity. Within this relationship is often incorporated a man's <sup>1</sup> Favour an

Omer C. Stewart, 1950 p. 27  
Muhammad M. Shalaby, 1950 p. 7  
Edmund S. Brunner and others, 1945 p. 79  
Vergara Thompson, 1917 pp. 456-66  
Brunner, op. cit. p. 79  
Tannous, 1950 op. cit. pp. 268-69





companying measures for a reformed credit system the land will gain be concentrated in the hands of a few within a few years. And since change is proposed in the interests of human welfare it is important to see to it that it is introduced constructively or at any rate with a minimum of disruption and destruction of established interrelationships and values. Basic attitudes concepts and values are therefore here considered.

## RELATIONSHIP TO THE LAND

The relationship to the land is twofold: tenure and agricultural activity. Within this relationship is often incorporated a man's religion and entire way of life. The agriculture of the Egyptian fellahin, as Shalaby says, is a highly integrated way of life that is deeply rooted in centuries of tradition. It involves personal emotional expression, family ties, religious sentiment, social intercourse and firmly established habits of behaviour. In most parts of the world farmers have lived in villages close together while their fields have been scattered around, sometimes far apart. In regions such as the Middle East, a village is a tightly knit community in which most of the members are related, help one another in need and work together in communal undertakings. For such people the significance of land goes beyond its economic value. It figures strongly in many traditions and is the object of strong emotional attachment. In terms of the relationship tenure of land or agricultural activity man often sees the land as a kind of nourishing mother or as something to which he belongs. In the Middle East or in villages there is always some part of the land that belongs to the village forever; it cannot be alienated. This is a common attitude toward land among Pacific peoples; sometimes it is perpetuated in the reverse form, in that man cannot be alienated from the land, as among many Australian tribes and the Arapesh of New Guinea. In general the attitude of belonging to a specific piece of land is common even among peoples who have a home for long periods as the Greeks do.

When man has ownership rights over land they may take a variety of forms. The own-ship unit may be the tribe as in the case of the grazing lands in Saudi Arabia, where agriculture and individual ownership are being introduced together. It may be the village apportioning land for family use; it may be the family including a number of adult members; it may be the individual. There may be a combination of different types.

- Omer C. Stewart, 1950 p. 27  
 Mohamed M. Shalaby, 1950 p. 7  
 Edmund S. Brunner and others, 1945 p. 79  
 V. G. Thompson, 1937 pp. 454-66  
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T. O. 1950 p. 267

V. M. E. 1939 pp. 106-7

R. Bert Redfield and W. Lloyd Warner 1940 p. 989



practising agriculture as they know it, and they refrained from cutting many of the trees not as a conservation measure but because the trees were sacred. In the Trobriands as among the Tiv the magical activities in agriculture were performed by the head of the social unit and by all the members of the social unit.

In order to enlist the co-operation necessary to carry out the new measures understanding of the existing patterns as well as careful diagnosis is needed. In Egypt and Arab Palestine the proposed co-operative activities are presented as the continuation of the traditional village co-operation. In support the Koran is cited, and the danger of the loss of land without co-operation stressed with references to specific cases of such loss. The religious objection that co-operative credit societies charge interest on loans going against known law is counteracted by the argument that the interest charged is for the purpose of mutual aid which is enjoined by the Koran. In some of the Middle East countries however as in Greece the government overlooked the existing patterns as well as local leadership and responsibility introducing co-operation through the central government, patterned after the foreign concept and the results have not been good. In isolated instances when the Near East Foundation initiated projects in Macedonia after a programme of education there have been outstanding cases of co-operative activity. Not one cent of the half million dollars which the Near East Foundation spends annually in Greece goes to hire labour; it spends money on education until the villages co-operate freely in the improvement of the land, sanitation, water supply.

One form of co-operation particularly relevant to agriculture is based on the communal ownership and working of the land. Opinions are divided as to the value of this. On one hand communal ownership assures the unbroken tracts of land necessary to the effective application of some of the proposed changes particularly for the use of mechanized equipment in agriculture. It means economy of effort. For example the FAO mission to Greece recommends the wide use of strip farming on the hills with alternate strips of grass land and cultivated land laid horizontally but the hillsides are covered in narrow strips of land running vertically. The strip farming chequers a man's scattered strips into tiny pieces the cultivation of which is economically a communal ownership of the hillsides would be a good thing. The Panamanians resist individual ownership of land, even when the government offers it to them as a free grant. They believe the land belongs to the people and that individuals can only have its use if they are told that "the



## ACCEPTANCE

In many parts of the world we find cultures adhering to the belief that man has no causal effect upon his own future or the future of the land. God not man can improve man's lot. This view is held in different forms from the attitude of the Ifugao of Luzon who believe that man has absolutely no effectiveness of his own so that each step of each act has to be given its effect by a specific god to the acceptance of events as God's will or the working of fate which we find in Latin America and the Middle East. It is difficult to persuade such people to use fertilizers or to save the best seed for planting since man is responsible only for the performance and the due for the success of the act.

## ADAPTATION

In many groups we find the attitude of doing with what is there rather than hanging it off, coping rather than fixing. Such people see no reason why anything should be done about it. When traditional methods produce some crops maintain a measure of health keep some of the soil from running off or the cow has some value to be used to produce the short comings accept the inadequacies or conveniences than to effect a change in fact it is possible that adjustment is such an automatic reaction that the inadequacy is not even noticed. It is difficult to persuade people with this attitude that reformation is necessary until it is too late to do anything about it. They adjust to a poor yield or to the diminished value of milk-supply of their cow until the situation may develop beyond the help of man.

## LOVE OF THE WAY OF LIFE

All of these attitudes are of course related to the positive value which the traditional way of life holds for many of the people. Where this is paramount change is either resisted or if accepted it is kept along the fringes. Changes which increase income and are introduced in the interests of an improvement in living standards are entered reluctantly by this attitude. Increased income according to reports is often squandered while the standard of living remains the same. Labour saving devices have been known to release time for prostitution. In Spanish American communities in New Mexico extra income

A. D. C. W. Ken 1948 p. 280 R. F. B. 1946  
 H. E. I. Foundation 1949 p. 7  
 R. Por. J. A. FAO M. for G. p. 143  
 T. Now 1944 b. p. 143 W. Ken op. cit. p. 140  
 W. Ken op. cit. pp. 234-236 W. Ken op. cit. p. 303





the function of preserving moisture. In Greece the wheat in  
fertilized fields did not resist the drought as well as the wheat  
in other fields and the experts  
would be planning  
to sow a  
crop of this sort and  
take the risk of it  
those who believe in tried and proven procedure alone  
"I shake the faith of  
the valued  
program"

THE VALUED

Programmes for improvement are sometimes rendered in effect because of failure to take account of what the people specifically value. Values may range in intensity from strong preferences to highly emotionally charged attitudes of a religious significance. Spanish Americans in New Mexico should be shown how to grow more productive varieties of medium-sized cabbages rather than to grow large cabbages because they do not like very large vegetables. However, it would not very seriously disrupt the culture if they were persuaded to grow larger varieties. At the other end of the scale we have the religious status of the cow in India and Africa. Here we have to find a way of helping without taking away from the people their faith and the meaning of life. If the sacred cows are allowed to eat the crops unmolested while the people are on the brink of starvation the agricultural expert can give aid in making the land more productive and introduce crops which the cow does not like to eat, as was done recently in Malawi of the United Provinces by Horace Holmes. If the Hindu peasants will not make changes because this requires rennet from the fourth stomach of a young rumant we might concentrate on finding a synthetic substitute or on finding a different way of processing milk. When Hindus in need of nutritional improvement have refused to eat eggs because it would destroy life the experts have introduced unfertilized eggs as vegetable eggs, first showing that they did not show any significant possibility of life.

In Africa, in the societies where cattle constitute wealth and are killed only on ceremonial occasions and are given in compensation for injuries and so women are taken as brides over stocking cannot be stopped unless the central meaning of the culture is changed among people who combine

En 1946 pp 227-233  
J. I. FAO II so for G. ex op cit p 136  
T. 74  
D. 4 So. 1949 p 26  
Brum et 2 p 88



## SOIL CONSERVATION

*Cont Ploughing*

In Africa this goes against traditional ways and makes a break in continuity with the valued ancestors who sanction the traditional methods. However this same sanction of social continuity was used effectively in the introduction of contour ploughing in French Africa: men were persuaded to use the new methods in order to pass the land unharmed to their descendants. In Greece where people have to be shown the Near East Foundation had terraces made on a hillside which stood when the rest of the land was gullied during a torrential rain.

*Measures against Overgrazing and Burning Forested Land*

These run counter to the principle of livestock as value rather than as a means of production.

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incorporates the values of the society Improvement of breed  
N h n d is in

Agriculture experts mention the need to teach the value of  
- b - n - n f n l t v e l However

#### INTRODUCTION OF CASH CROPS



but it would mean personal reorientation as well as a change in the valued relationship structure. Again because of the extremely short ploughing season it is necessary that there be no delays: an iron plough with brittle shears needs frequent

strips treasured because of location or ancestral association the project fell through.

In some areas it is uneconomical to introduce mechanization because human labour is cheaper and remains cheaper because the people themselves place a low valuation upon it. In Indonesia the workers fatalistically accept the fact that the rate of pay for buffalo labour is twice that of human labour. In the Philippines where more than half the holdings are less than two hectares farming occupies only about 75 eight hundred days of the year for the peasant, and the absence of a diversified economy means that there is no other systematic work to occupy a man. Even if it were possible





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city in good condition, and they must be sold at too high a price to form a bulk fit in in the diet of the ordinary city worker. Katsgras writing on food in Athens describes exactly such a condition among people who when in their native village had eaten mainly fruit and vegetables. Again the unease and concentration of the metropolitan destroyed the very concentration of the rural life. The result of deforestation is a concentration of the population in the city.

Again the use of the land has been progressively cut down and has disappeared accordingly. In many areas the poverty and the overpopulation has meant that the soil has been exhausted and the return has been small. In the mountains the land has been cut down and the soil has been exhausted and the return has been small.

the game which furnished most of the meat  
accordingly  
overpopulation has meant overcultivation  
of the soil has been reflected not only in  
but also in crops deficient in essential  
It has meant soil erosion and the carrying away of  
the top soil so that farmers as in Korea have to go  
now to the mouths of streams to scoop up the land by the  
side and carry it back to grow the food  
Not all difficulties in the realm of nutrition  
factor with Western civilization on the one  
and the Far East for example

Not all difficulties in the realm of nutrition are due to con-  
fact with Western civilization. Any animal slaughtered must be  
and the Far East for example since there is no refrigeration and  
of methods for preservation. Most completely lacking. There is  
con immediately. Some methods of storing are almost none anyone  
some spread of meat through the year however. When his guests  
who slaughters must invite guests to a feast to help him finish  
the meat and thus means that he in turn will be invited to eat  
when his guests kill their own animals. In Roman a when  
cattle had to be killed because of a three month drought, the  
meat had to be consumed immediately or rot. We also find  
here and elsewhere that fruits and vegetables are not pre-

H. C. Trow 1950 pp 161-63  
A. N. A. 1972  
C. S. Stephandes 1948  
Do Loope 1950 p 113  
E. J. Bell 1950 p 162  
A. J. P. 1950

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 A. 124 P 0  
 Kozalg 1949 p 176



To introduce adequate nutrition it is important to bring about changes that are in keeping with the established food habits of the people and are acceptable within the framework of their value system. In most societies food is the focus of emotional associations a channel for inter-personal relations, for the communication of love or discrimination or disapproval. It usually has a symbolic reference. Therefore unless its place and the function of food, its preparation and consumption within the total culture are taken into account, the introduction of change however apparently limited and harmless, can be very disruptive. For example in the United States in the South mothers cook food the way each child likes it, compensating for the poorness and monotony of the ingredients and any change in the preparation of food would introduce change in personal relationships. In some societies the breast or other food is offered to the child after punishment if we persuade these people to offer the breast only at scheduled feedings, or teach them that it is harmful to eat between meals we have made ourselves responsible for finding some way in which the mother can give reassurance and acceptance to the punished child. Again if we teach mothers to nurse their babies according to schedule we run the risk of having the mother by sleep at a distance from the mother who cannot then remove her customary watchfulness against smothering getting cold, falling into the fire or out of bed.

In some societies where meals end with a sweet dessert, mothers withhold dessert as a way of punishing the child. This results in a devaluation of that part of the meal which contains the main elements necessary for nutritional balance and the child has to be urged to eat them because "they are good for him. Yet mothers depend on this form of punishment and will resist attempts to change this stress on the dessert. Again when milk and pulped food are associated with infancy men will resist the drinking of milk or eating of pulped foods in special diets which call for them. Where home and food are strongly identified children reject the school meal and men in a rural area at the plant and business concerns in such countries often give their employees a long luncheon hour to arrange the work day in such a way that men can eat their meals at home.

Nutritional precepts have interfered with patterns of caring for children or of personal relations with the husband. However, we may be urged by the nutritionist to cook vegetables just before serving so as to preserve the vitamins and by the child-care specialist to bathe the children at this time or read to them. Thus meals take time when the husband away at his work all day comes back eager for his wife's exclusive companionship.

A study made by the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council in the United States during World



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A study made by the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council in the United States during World



the rural areas apparently make up for its nutritional deficiencies. In Lower Burma however where a cash-crop economy flourishes malnutrition is reported. In general the introduction of a money economy has been a serious factor in nutritional imbalance. In Africa for example a good balance had been achieved through some process unknown to us it depended on the division of labour between men and women and between age groups. When these cycles and the divisions of labour were disturbed or destroyed the dietary balance was also gone. Given money as the base for creating a meal the people have no traditional pattern on which to fall back and in fact, they usually have to make their choice entirely on the basis of expense and availability. In Greece also the rural areas which unexpectedly sturdy health and longevity among those who have survived the hazards of war but the urban areas for all their methods of preservation and the transportation facilities have shown nutritional deficiency in recent years. A pediatrician writing for women who are at least moderately well-to-do suggests that city babies be given supplementary food earlier than village babies since the village mother's milk is not as nutritious.

Where food patterns reflect cultural structuring and values any change introduced into the society may produce imbalance. With many peoples as among the Ifugao of Luzon, for example meat was a by-product of religious sacrifice or ritual. There was no difference in the meat consumption of poor and rich however. When this continuity between rich and distributed the meat. And continuity between rich and poor has disappeared in the society the diet of the poor is thrown out of balance. The Ifugao killed fowl or carabao only on sacrifices to buy the goodwill of the deity and particularly to buy the goodwill of the deity. Western concepts of disease and health and of causation we should do so in a program which takes account of the effect of these changes on the nutritional pattern.

It is necessary to know also the pattern of meals during the day which eating for instance is an important exception as a response to hunger? In Greece breakfast is not considered a focus of value. The family ritual and change her would not introduce disruption. The Committee on Food Habits found that also be known. The meal formed the emotionally charged focus, nutrition. The change could be introduced much more easily through the substitution of meat on a plate for example where meat on a plate for the substitution of meat on a plate is not determined by nutritional interest during periods of short-term changeability but rather





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When food patterns reflect cultural structuring and values any change introduced into the society may produce imbalances. With many peoples as among the Ifugao of Luzon for example meat was a by-product of religious sacrifice or valuable. There was a difference in the meat consumption of poor and rich however it was always the rich who killed and distributed the meat. When the continuity between rich and poor has disappeared in the society the diet of the poor is thrown out of balance. And often it makes such occasions disappear also. The Ifugao killed fowl only as sacrifices to buy the goodwill of the deities and particularly as sacrifices to buy the health and of course, we should do so in a program which takes account of the effect of these changes on the nutritional pattern.

It is necessary to know also the pattern of meals during the day which is being forgotten. In Greece is unimportant except a response to hunger? In Greece breakfast is not considered a focus of life. A family usually has a change here would not introduce a breakfast. The patterning of each meal itself must also be known. The Committee on Food Habits found that he on whom the meal formed the meal is usually charged with the preparation of the meal. In the United States for example when the substituted items are in a case of is the central item at dinner the substitution for the during periods of shortage determined by nutritional interchangeability but rather



has been useless to try to introduce unpolished rice for example because what people value is the whiteness of the rice. When an attempt was made to introduce enriched polished rice into Puerto Rico this too was resisted, because it was not pure white: the processing had given it a creamy colour and only very recently when a reconstituted pure white rice has been achieved has there been acceptance. In the Far East it has been found that wheat will be accepted only if it is white like rice: whole wheat is resisted as being like brown rice. The special quality may be texture or taste. In New Mexico a government worker introduced a hybrid corn to Spanish American farmers and it produced three times the yield of their own corn: since corn was here the staple diet, the worker was sure that the innovation would be welcomed. Within four years however the farmers had ceased to grow it as their wives did not like the texture and no one liked the flavour.

#### FOOD AND VALUE

The feeling which people have toward their staple often verges on, or is actually, religious. The factors of value and religion must be taken into consideration when availability of food is investigated and when any change is contemplated. Among the Hopi Indians for example as among most farmers in Mexico corn is identified with living and with the good and the attitude toward it is religious. Mexican Indians often cannot be persuaded to grow the crops on land where these would do better than corn because they would rather have a poor crop of something that is not corn. Writers

But the basic meal

On third of the total population of the world is found in India. This does not mean that beef is really a suitable food for 5 per cent of the people even at all and



- the great value placed upon the future, and the equation of children with the future but a large number of cultures value the past.
- 2 The changes proposed in the area of maternal and child care also encounter firmly established patterns of behaviour which most often are an expression of the basic patterning of family relations. However many of

# HOSPITALIZATION

Where houses are crowded and ill-ventilated and where sanitary measures are inadequate it has often seemed desirable to persuade women to go to a hospital for delivery. Maternity hospitals in under-developed areas are few in relation to population, but it is often difficult to fill even these few. Hospitals are staffed by impersonal staff to enter but staff is weak and one at which to For maternity

As we have seen, a hospital is a place where death often occurs and, unless the maternity hospital is a special building, this holds great significance for pregnant women who must nevertheless see a corpse.

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2 Each culture has its own prescribed behaviour for the birth of the child and this is important for the health of the mother and child or the husband or the total





strange customs The French Colonial administration in Africa initiated a system which seems to be more reassuring hospitals were medicine ents were sing treat r relatives is in fact he receives created a ly suring con

tern. At times there are peculiar positive factors making for in security It is reported that in previous times in West Africa the charms and talismans which give a man the power to withstand evil forces were forcibly taken away from those hospitalized in Burma where the illgers built one-storey houses and where they slept at the rule ty-days the is could not c l e

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she must have a fire burning near her until the umbilical cord drops off. The disposal of the lochial blood of the and navel cord all depend on the society's conception of the body and of the continuity within the unit. Among the Tiv for example the placenta must be buried where it can be refreshed daily with water from the baby's bath and where it can add to his inadequate strength. Among the Agatha lochial blood and placenta must be buried where they can be prevented from scorching the earth and bringing disease to the people and where no sorcerer can work charms over them to put an end to the mother's fertility. On the specific disposal of the navel cord often depends the future life of the new individual. How can one be assured that all these practices will be rightly observed?

Among the certain all important lochia be confined in rules to abstain from eating salt and meat fresh fruit and in labour for s vegetables and to be protected from the sun. The hospital they are not al believes that these food items are a necessary part of the diet and its rules forbid shading of the windows where the parturient mother lies with her infant. In West Africa women find it insupportable that they should be parted from their babies who are made to lie on separate cots and except when they secretly take their babies in beside them this hospital regulation is a great hardship.

A missionary doctor in Africa Dr Maynard overcame the fear of hospitalization. Some 30 years ago she established a maternity home which found acceptance by first carefully winning the confidence of the women in the community. She first visited the women in their homes and helped them there only after her work was accepted did she build her maternity home. She invited expectant mothers to come several weeks before delivery without pay so that the babies were born in familiar surroundings. She did not confuse hygiene with Western ideas of cleanliness the women were allowed to continue their habit of spitting tobacco juice on the walls.

Hospitalization for delivery also presents a number of drawbacks in common with hospitalization for other reasons. Under British administration in Africa and Burma an individual usually had to go far for hospital care the hospital there were usually conceived of as centres to come to for treatment. There was a policy of complete isolation from friends and relatives and hospital discipline made no concessions to

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rise to the suspicion that the doctor was a human leopard. He found that on the one hand people were mortally afraid of anaesthetics which they considered as death-dealing while on the other hand they despised the surgeon who administered them since they thought that he had failed in his attempt to inflict lasting death. In this hospital discipline was silent.

Order consisted in having people appear every morning for injections or change of bandage or other treatment. Yet even this was considered oppressive and patients would do everything they could to avoid staying at the hospital. The leprosy treatment with its long series of injections was very unpopular and lepers came only if they thought they would be given chaulmoogra oil prepared for use at home. Since dysentery meant that the patient's freedom was curtailed and he was put under supervision this disease was usually concealed by the victim as well as by other patients. Non-dysentery patients further disobeyed the rule against sharing the

Dr. Schweitzer was ready to help a man however near to death he might be, led the people to distrust him, their native medicine men knew enough to recognize approaching death and refused to waste their skill on the dying, thus bolstering faith in their infallibility and in addition Dr. Schweitzer's humaneness meant that people were confirmed in their belief that one went to the hospital not to get well but to die. These difficulties were not insurmountable and when the doctor returned after some years of absence his hospital was besieged

by the clock to staying in one place continuously instead of wandering around and to efficient impersonal attention. The Navaho cannot see why he must be fed with gruel and milk when if he were home he would be fed as much as he could eat of the best food the family could get for him. He misses the undivided continuous attention he has had from the medicine man when he has been ill at home. In addition his relatives often travel many miles to see him only to be told that it is the wrong time of day for visiting.

Schwartz 1931 p. 11, p. 23

Ibid p. 160

Ibid pp. 91, 110, 117

Ibid pp. 28, 33, 39

Albert Schwartz 1933 pp. 163, 64, 252

Light and Light 1933 pp. 56-57

Alice Joseph 1942 p. 4

# PERINATAL CARE

In most societies pregnancy is regarded as a normal state and women go about their ordinary occupations until the end. However it is often a period of vulnerability for the woman, and there are rites acting as preventive and strengthening measures. These are actually health measures since they enhance security and well-being. The Tiv woman has a number of kombo rites worked over her and everyone around her is cleansed even of unsuspected evil intentions against her. In many societies the social unit itself and even the land has to be protected from the pregnant woman who is a potency power for others. So a high are essential in the particular

In most cultures children are wanted and pregnancy is a desired state. Where a union is not fruitful a woman often seeks magical or medical aid or she may be put away as useless or the wife or concubine may be taken according to the custom of the society. Among the Igbo there is a belief that there is no conception when the wife's blood disagrees with the husband's semen so a liquid concoction is given to the woman to change her blood. But here it is not only the woman who is blamed for sterility; men are recognized as well. In some societies medicine made from the roots of plants is used to reduce

must not conceive during the first two or three sexual intercourse when it is not on the first or the second child. We widely spread howe when a child is born women have been persuaded not to nurse their infants for this length of time so that the nurses have been established in the fields accustomed

rise to the suspicion that the doctor was a human leopard. He found that on the one hand people were mortally afraid of anaesthetics which they considered as death-dealing while on the other hand they despised the surgeon who administered them since they thought that he had failed in his attempt to inflict lasting death. In this hospital discipline was strict. Order consisted in having people appear every morning for injections or change of bandage or other treatment. Yet even this was considered oppressive and patients would do everything they could to avoid staying at the hospital. The leprosy treatment with its long series of injections was very unpopular and lepers came only if they thought they would be given chaulmoogra oil prepared for use at home. Since dysentery meant that the patient's freedom was curtailed and he was put under supervision this disease was usually concealed by the victim as well as by other patients. Non-dysentery patients further disobeyed the rule against sharing the cooking with dysentery patients and would even eat out of the same pot with them. One such patient told the doctor, "Better be with my brother and die than not see him." The fact that Dr. Schweitzer was ready to help a man however near to death he might be led the people to distrust him, their native medicine men knew enough to recognize approaching death and refused to waste their skill on the dying thus bolstering faith in their infallibility and in addition Dr. Schweitzer's humanness meant that people were confirmed in their belief that one went to the hospital not to get well but to die. These difficulties were not insurmountable and when the doctor returned after some years of absence his hospital was besieged by the sick who came from hundreds of miles away even before he had time to unpack his instruments and medicines.

The doctors who worked with the Navaho Indians found resistance to hospitalization among these people who according to Dr. Leighton are unaccustomed to a bed to living by the clock to staying in one place continuously instead of wandering around and to efficient impersonal attention. "The Navaho cannot see why he must be fed with gruel and milk when if he were home he would be fed much as he could eat of the best food the family could get for him. He misses the undivided continuous attention he has had from the medicine man when he has been ill at home. In addition his relatives often travel many miles to see him only to be told that it is the wrong time of day for visiting."

Schwartz 1931 op cit. p. 23

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## 2. PRENATAL CARE

In most societies, pregnancy is regarded as a normal state and women go about their ordinary occupations until the end. However it is often a period of vulnerability for the woman, and there are rites acting as preventive and enhancing security measures. These are common in many societies but itself and even the pregnant woman who is so profane that she may destroy sanctity potency power or whose blood is so hot that it may wither others. So a pregnant woman has to follow regulations which are essentially based on the concept of continuity found in the particular culture.

In most cultures children are wanted and pregnancy is a desired state. Where a union is not fruitful a woman often seeks magical or medical aid or she may be put away as useless, or another wife concubine may be taken according to the custom of the society. Among the Igbo there is a belief that there is no concept on when the wife's blood disagrees with the husband's semen so a liquid concoction is given to the woman to change her blood. But he it is not only the woman who is to blame sterility men recognized and such men are given medical aid made from the roots of plants which have a sedative effect.

Many cultures also have practices resulting in birth-control and changes in these practices. For example where women and changes in these practices. For example where women must not conceive during lactation and must therefore avoid sexual intercourse when lactation went on for two or three years. Children were widely spread however when such women have been produced to raise their infants for this length of time. Where nurses have been established to care for babies while the mother is in the field accustomed to the infant to no human milk this works against the regulation of conceptus. Agin this custom was easier to maintain where polygamy was part of the picture. But where polygamy had appeared by governmental interdiction or through the influence of Christianity, the prohibition of other married husbands was put forth against traditional practice rather than the husband's special meditations are known in a number of practices where birth-control has depended upon sexual abstention during prolonged lactation as among the Pund women. It is said to be going to the trading stores asking



for the contraceptives of Western civilization. Industrialization has had an indirect effect on the size of families in S. Africa through separating couples for long periods of time through introducing the desire to spend money on trade-goods through increasing atomization of the social group and by giving the woman a different picture of herself. Christianity in destroying the ancestor cults has rendered it unnecessary for people to have numerous progeny or any progeny through whom to continue the social unit after death. Education has introduced budgeting and the need to educate one's children and has brought attempts to limit families.

Many groups in Africa circumcise their girls at puberty. Missionary attempts to put a stop to this practice have led as among the Kikuyu as the people apparently feel that with of their identity. The womanhood to wifehood the physical preparation for motherhood and is believed to improve the process of birth. Western physicians however believe that it complicates the process of birth and gives rise to difficulties with which native midwives are not able to cope. Yet to teach growing girls to lose their faith in this rite may mean to destroy their image of their own womanhood and the security they need during pregnancy.

There are often changes in diet throughout pregnancy. Foods which according to Western ideas are essential to maternal health and the growth of the foetus are sometimes forbidden and those which they probably want. Chan of view.

On the one hand the nutritive values of many native foods are not adequately known. On the other hand where traditional procedure is important any change may destroy well-being. However where cash crops have been substituted for subsistence farming the maternal diet is reported to be dangerously inadequate due to factors which are not rooted in the value system.

Any changes proposed in the pattern of sexual intercourse during pregnancy would run up against the society's conception of the formation of the body. Daily intercourse for

practices her duties until delivery. We have reports from Oceania and Africa of women walking many miles carrying heavy loads, just before delivery. In South Africa, however, Kruva Hunter found that all the women she spoke to complained that lifting heavy weights to the head during pregnancy caused them pain, and that the strenuous grinding of the child about in the womb apparently they connected with this. The frequency with which the child is born and the umbilical cord twisted about the neck. In West Africa, women are absolved from carrying heavy loads, but are otherwise very active during pregnancy. One of them, a trained maternal care, says that educated women in the group who have accepted the European pattern of having leisure do their work but not the habits of sports and exercise. And European women have present a higher maternal mortality rate.

This author gives the favourable and unfavourable aspects of maternal care here as follows: the woman feels secure through the authority of the family medicine man who is a personal friend and who supervises the pregnancy. Her anxieties are reduced as she eats little. Her genital tract has not been handled during pregnancy so the danger of infection is reduced. She is used to pain. Her friends relieve her during delivery. Against this the author sets the fact that no one present knows how to deal with complications and unusual presentations, that the air is not fresh in the delivery room and that hygienic measures are lacking thus exposing the infant to infection.

There have been reports in the past that among so-called under-developed peoples delivery is very painful. These have been discounted. If babies are born in a field two miles away from home it is only because the mother has been following her practice of doing her ordinary work and some deliveries are unusually easy everywhere. The fact that in the United States many babies are born in the way of the hospital under the supervision of a highly trained doctor and police man does not mean that deliveries are generally usually lasts two days.

Similar reports come from all parts of the world. The narrower pelvis in the West and the fact that has made for a difficult birth. The high birth rate may be largely due to the fact that the mother is not so well prepared for the birth process, while she takes no part in it. The difficulty in the birth process, while she takes no part in it, is due to the fact that the mother is not so well prepared for the birth process, while she takes no part in it.

Hunter op cit pp 1-4-47

On birth pp 1-4-25

It is pp 32-33

Hunter op cit p 147

through increasing atomization of the village, giving the woman a different picture of herself. Christianity in destroying the ancestor cults has rendered it unnecessary for people to have numerous progeny or any progeny through whom to continue the social unit after death. Education has introduced budgeting and the need to educate one's children and has brought attempts to limit families.

Many groups in Africa circumcise their girls at puberty. Missionary attempts to put a stop to this practice have led, as among the Kikuyu, to a strengthening of it as the people apparently feel that with it is involved the very continuance of their identity. The initiation rites at this time are basic to womanhood, to wifehood and motherhood; circumcision is the physical preparation for motherhood and is believed to improve the process of birth. Western physicians, however, believe that it complicates the process of birth and gives rise to difficulties with which native midwives are not able to cope. Yet to teach growing girls to lose their faith in this rite might mean to destroy their image of their own womanhood and the security they need during pregnancy.

There are often changes in diet throughout pregnancy. Foods which according to Western ideas are essential to maternal health and the growth of the foetus are sometimes for the natives regarded as strengthening while the Western point of view is made with care. Many native food procedures are important; any change may destroy well-being.

However, where cash crops have been substituted for subsistence farming, the maternal diet is reported to be dangerously inadequate due to factors which are not rooted in the value system.

Any changes proposed in the pattern of sexual intercourse during pregnancy would run up against the society's conception of the formation of the body. Daily intercourse for a number of weeks or months may be enjoined for the complete formation of the embryo or it may be completely forbidden for the protection of the husband and social unit. Greek manuals on prenatal care allow intercourse through part of the ninth month and forbid it only because of the danger of infection along with immersion baths.

Where pregnancy is regarded as a natural state, the woman

transforms her duties until delivery. We have reports, from Oceania and Africa, of women walking many miles carrying heavy loads just before delivery. In South Africa however Monica Hunter found that all the women she spoke to complained that lifting heavy weights to the head during pregnancy caused them pain and that the strenuous grinding of the loom about the frequency with which the child is born is the umbilical cord twisted about the neck. In West Africa, women are absolved from carrying heavy loads but otherwise very active during pregnancy one of them evaluating maternal care, says that educated women in this group who have accepted the European pattern of having others do their work but not the habits of sports and exercise which European women have present a higher maternal mortality rate.

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Small reports from all parts of the world. There is a report from Asia that the Western doctor has made for a long time. In the East the woman and her mother usually find that in the birth process, whether she has no pain or not, she assumes a natural position during

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There are often changes in diet. Foods which accustom to health and it is bidden and those they probably improve well being through reassuring the pregnant woman are often not nutritive from the Western point of view. Changes in this area will have to be made with care. On the one hand the nutritive values of many native foods are not adequately known on the other hand where traditional procedure is important any change may destroy well being. However where cash crops have been substituted for subsistence farming the maternal diet is reported to be dangerously inadequate due to factors which are not rooted in the value system.

Any changes proposed in the pattern of sexual intercourse during pregnancy would run up against the society's conception of the formation of the body. Daily intercourse for a number of weeks or months may be enjoined for the complete formation of the embryo. It may be completely forbidden for the protection of the husband. Ancient Greek manuals on prenatal care allow intercourse throughout the ninth month and forbid it only because of the danger of infection along with immersion baths.

Where pregnancy is regarded as a natural state the woman

God has his own plan some feel it would be courting disaster to act in such an assured way about a situation that holds so many uncertainties and hazards. It is not merely a question of teaching new manures then but one of educating the people to find a place for these changes in their systems of values and beliefs.

## CHILD-BIRTH

Birth itself is strongly patterned everywhere. It may be necessary for the baby to be born in a structure other than a dwelling hut. The mother's position during child birth is determined by the culture. She may squat or kneel or bear down on a rope suspended from the roof or she may be supported by a husband or female relatives or friends. There may be a pit filled with ashes or a pile of cow-dung or of rags to rest on only the infant but the highly charged lochia blood. The baby may be slipped to provoke crying as in the United States, or it may be gently massaged or have cold water brown on it, or as an extreme measure a wise woman may blow up its anus as in sections of Greece. It may be possible to keep some of these practices without harm or to fit changes into the existing pattern. The slip as in the United States may be an act of friendly aggression just as the baby's movements in the womb have been interpreted aggressively as kicking. But in Greece a slap is an intrusion on a molestator. There is nothing friendly about it, about aggressiveness. In the womb the embryo has not been kicking the mother. It has been gambolling and to slap a new born infant may be unacceptable.

## CHILD CARE

In many regions infants are swaddled or kept on a stiff cradle board which makes movement impossible. The reasons given for this practice vary from society to society and in each case what is common is adapted to the child through the practice. In nations where the culture studied of America can vary with the values of the culture, we are not, show that such devices do not lay co-ordinate on and that they seem to go through the feeling of security. In Greece the position of the unwrapped child and the change seems to be accepted. In the mother's arms and the position of the unwrapped child itself has been maintained.



a barrier in a pattern where security lies in the very continuity of the individual with the social unit. We tread on the same delicate ground when we try to introduce a special diet for the child. In some societies it is true the infant's diet is grossly inadequate yet in attempt to change it, it is well to be aware of the areas that are to be influenced by such change. If to be Greek means to eat wheat bread or to be Hopi means to eat corn meal then the infant who is making his identification with his unit should not be deprived of these items of food unless this is absolutely necessary. If to be a member of the family means to share food in a family ritual in a sort of daily communion then the harm done by the introduction of a special child diet may outweigh the good. Reports from Greece suggest that the new diets introduced for children bring dissension to the family table where to quarrel is like quarreling in church.

In several countries as in the United States and Australia child-care manuals also give advice on toilet training. In some cultures this training is taken casually and the mothers are not particularly aware of training their children. In others it is strongly stressed and is considered a problem situation. In the United States there has been a change in recent years, so that infants do not have to begin training for defecation at the age of 10 weeks or two months however in most groups in this country the attitude of disgust at the child's excrement, the feeling that the child has done something dirty remains, and it is considered by many to help in forming a basis for approval. In China and Burma toilet training is for winning process of becoming socially acceptable. Mothers report that they do not train their child but they watch their children closely and catch them in time and—perhaps through being immediately held away from the nurse's body when they begin to defecate—they are apparently trained by the time they reach the age of six months. Greek mothers train their infants first, and so defecation only when the baby can imitate the mother. And so defecation only when the mother the child, when the child is six months old, is often goes to defecate with the mother when she is in the care of her mother. In Afghanistan mobile maternal wards in Latin America the midwives and the gynecologists in many countries also report increasing numbers of patients with obstetrical complications so that these women at





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the assumption that this separation is a boon to the mother because it frees her from the interference of the child is open to question, since in such societies the family expands to accept the child, so that the child is not a disturbing or interfering factor and without the child the mother's life itself may be impoverished.

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## PUBLIC HEALTH

### THE BODY

#### Utility of Function

Public health is an integral part of the social process," says Dr Raymond F. Dick speaking from the wide experience of the international work of the Rockefeller Foundation. For this reason it is difficult to isolate the subject of this section for here we are dealing with people to whom the issues of public health are all of that and more they cover many conceptions of good and evil of the relationship of the individual to his social unit and to the universe. Among many people such as the Hopi Navaho and Papago of the south western United States health is the expression of harmony with the universe. And health is only one such expression of an aspect of his well being but effective as his luck, or his potency. The illness which a disease might also cause failure of the body as it does to the Tiv. A Burmese villager can easily succumb to illness also to any other misfortune if his karma (cumulative virtue and strength) is low and an If gao will meet with misfortune if he has not bribed the appropriate gods with the necessary sacrifices as will a Tiv if he has not performed the preventive kumbo rites and function of his body mind and activity emotions and social relations are all measured in terms of their growth in a person may result in illness in a year of the year.

Continuity  
In many societies throughout the world man is continuous with his environment. The effect is that he is not healthy unless his environment is healthy. Conversely the well being of his environment is dependent upon his health. (Raymond F. Dick 1947 p. 29)

least can be hospitalized. Many of these projects are government supported. In Moslem countries however there are the vast private charitable organizations which have been responsible for care at this time. In many countries such as for example Indonesia, India and among Spanish Americans in New Mexico the midwives already operating have been trained in Western practices. This has not always been a completely successful programme where hygienic principles are not understood a midwife may learn to scrub her hands and then may run them through her hair. In rural India midwives were reluctant to work with male physicians preferring to work with women.

Again in many regions the place of the midwife as someone known and trusted who treats the patients with personal attention has been recognized and midwives have been sent to rural areas to visit women in their homes and become acquaintances and even friends before child birth takes place.

Hospitalization is making headway. Perhaps one of the main obstacles to overcome when special maternity homes are established rather than maternity wards in large hospitals. Where child bearing is in no way equated with disease or a non normal state it is more acceptable to go to a maternity home this also eliminates the fear of being in the vicinity of dead or dying people at this critical time. Such a procedure is also in accord with patterns where child birth must occur not in the family home but in a special building a pattern found in many regions. In the United States the Fox Indians welcomed the opportunity to have child birth take place away from home since in this way they could avoid the responsibility for the ceremonies of purification after this defiling event.

Well baby clinics child welfare stations and day nurseries are also being established. Some countries however find that the child is better off in the care of the home. The Government of Saudi Arabia explains that since the family is still the cornerstone of the society and brings up the children in strict accordance with the teachings of the Koran it is completely adequate and is not in need of further advice on child rearing. In countries where mothers have been persuaded to leave their young children behind in nurseries when they go to work in the fields it is probably not always to the benefit of the child. Where work is life and working with the mother is sharing her life and increasing one's sense of the oneness of the community.

her husband is engaged upon an important undertaking will help or hinder or harm him. Such a conception of continuity of body with land and society underlies the way in which medical treatment and hygienic measures are accepted and worked out.

# Image

The image of the body depends to some extent on these concepts of continuity. In many societies it has no sharp boundaries. Different parts of the body may be stressed in forming the link of continuity. In Greek culture for example, the continuity with the descendant is envisaged as a continuity of the internal organs, the *splanchna* and compassion in Greek is derived from this word. A mother ready to do anything for her child will say, 'He is my *plancha*.' The lateral relation is different however, is one of blood. My sister is my blood, and blood-brotherhood is reported to have been created between friends at least until recently in remote sections. The organs of communion the windows of the soul are the eyes among the Greeks and also among the Russians as well as in Latin America. In Mediterranean countries and the Middle East evil flows through the eyes when an individual admires and covets.

Different areas of the body of different sides are associated with different activities. In certain cultures there are very strict distinctions between the things that can be done with the left hand and those to be done with the right largely because there is a rigid separation between the areas of sexual activity and those pertaining to food. It is usual to find the left hand associated with sex, the right with cooking and eating. A *Kgikla* bridegroom has to eat with his left hand until his contamination is removed. West Indian medicine believes that to rehabilitate someone who has undergone amputation is largely a matter of training. But in other cultures it may be a matter of highly skilful education in solving a reorientation of values.

Certain people find the body often more highly charged with emotion than others. West Pacific Islands where the head is exalted, and the Pacific Islands where the head is exalted, are very important often sacred. It may have to be considered that the regulations against allowing anyone to step on the head of another are not so much a taboo as they are a warning. In Bellona the chiefs learned in their dances that Dr. Lambert slept on the beach because he was so afraid of the danger of having anyone step on his head. In some areas the hair is extremely important. The Burmese will wash their hair ceremonially treating



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among the Tiv it should be buried where the water carrying off the body-dirt of the bathing infant can nourish it. Again continuity between man and land is basic to the kind of substitutions which are acceptable. The Tiv for example may substitute mud for blood in a health rite the Agalla wife whose husband is absent substitutes mud for semen in the rite of strengthening the infant.

### Comparison

In many societies the body is believed to be created through the mixture of menstrual blood with semen. This is a common theory in Africa for example among the Azande, Chagga, Agalla. To create the new body repeated intercourse is necessary. On this belief rest accusations of adultery by visiting husbands who have had intercourse only once or twice with their wives and on it also rest the failures of attempts at birth control. The theory is also reported from Oceania. The blood and the semen are responsible for specific parts of the forming body among the Baganda the blood and muscles are believed to come from the mother the rest from the secretion of semen.

In Western thought the body is often equated to a machine of putting it in perfect working order of lubricating it of specific situation. The Burmese used mechanical analogy but only for the parts of the body derive from trees. In Greek folk medicine phors for the body often the precious metals flowers of iron had cold minerals of the earth in many areas. The analogy of a reproductive earth is common in many areas of the world. People for whom the body is an organic unit contrasted with nature speak of any exclusively local treatment as bewildering.

### Comparison

In many societies the body is not considered to be complete at birth. Men do it, to increase it in maleness or femineness or potency reflect on the inadequacy. In Burma girls do it naturally could be truly male a boy was tattooed before he was married. To be truly male a boy was tattooed before he was married. The body of its own accord was not completely potent many Burmese and people from the hill tribes did so and other charms under the skin to enhance the person. In Africa and Oceania the teeth had to be filed or blackened or to be blackened, before the body was completely manly part of the world the body had to be scarified some foreign substance rubbed in. This example







# Cross-Cultural Studies of Technical Cl

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the group or to the offer of half-chewed betel nut from brother to sister as among the Tikopia. It may also mean that one's spittle must be guarded against evilly disposed people. Among the Arapesh food offerings are part of the body-dirt and are carefully guarded lest they fall into the hand of the sorcerer.

Feces and urine are often treated completely casually and the introduction of latrines in such cases involves only the necessity of convincing the people of the need to guard themselves from pollution. There is often no doubt felt about holding a baby's bottom moment for example a Nivaho girl will scrape out her you-know-brother's dirt and then wear it on her head if she needs a head covering and if there is a defecation on the floor it may merely be covered with sand. We find the same casualness in the Burmese village and the rural areas of China and India. The revolution felt toward bodily effluvia in the United States has gone under the name of hygiene but is actually deeper than preoccupation with germs. Washing in urine is reported from several areas of the world. In many societies urine and particularly feces must be guarded against witchcraft and the Nivaho woman casual about the feces on the floor is very careful to cover and hide the spot when she and her children have gone in to defecate out of doors. Furthermore these feces are part of the person and individual can be contaminated through them. In certain regions in Uganda people refuse to have anything with other individuals because it would expose them to infection from the feces of others. Among the Ibure in India it was found that there was a deep objection to defecating in a place where a man of lower caste had defecated. Here also the people of high caste will have nothing to do with excreta so that hospitals are well supplied with excreta. In India as well as Burma nurses people to dispose of excreta. In India as well as Burma nurses usually will clean patient or provide bed pans and insist on the employment of a duplicate unwildly stiff.

A mother's milk is a symbol of purity of innocence and of kindness. For the Gesik the mother's milk is a symbol of the child's term for the suckling of the breast is a word that cannot be applied to anything else so that thumb sucking and pacifiers are a completely different category.

Clifford Kluckhohn 1947 p 82  
 D. C. Leach 1901 Cl. A. Kluckhohn 1947 p 40  
 Geo. C. Leach 1901 Cl. A. Kluckhohn 1947 p 40  
 B. A. Leach 1901 Cl. A. Kluckhohn 1947 p 40  
 G. D. S. S. 1943 p 5



seeded no urging they drank of the pure water because it was cool and clear and tasted good though not because of the absence of micro-organisms. A variation of this attitude as Margaret Mead has pointed out is prevalent in the United States where people avoid that which looks or smells or tastes dirty as unhygienic, whereas actually the dangerous germs have neither taste nor smell and are not visible to the naked eye.

Patterned cleanliness not because cleanliness as such is important, but as part of a way of life is common in many cultures. A good housewife as among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico may be one who always keeps her house clean the people may always wash themselves morning and evening. But among these people this is the way to act, part of the aesthetic picture. It has nothing to do with hygienic ends. The idea that a person they love or familiar objects and surroundings, can contaminate them is rejected by this group. In Colombo cleanliness was introduced in the schools as an a frequent measure. In I donessa and the Pacific Islands there is frequent bathing by immerse themselves before a meal. In the Burmese village there are often tanks where the villagers can immerse themselves after a refreshment. In the Moslems clean their teeth with a twig every day after their first meal. Cleanliness again, may be a ritual as with Mohammedans and Jews. Orthodox Jews must wash out mouth and hands up arising and before eating and after elimination. The hands must be clean before they help to wash the mouth. The water must be flowing or must be poured.

From the viewpoint of other peoples many Western habits are dirty. The British who regarded the hill tribes of Burma as filthy for taking almost no baths were in turn considered dirty by the Indians for bathing only once a day. Other Western handkerchiefs used for pocketing mucus is found reeking by the number of other societies. There has been considerable dirt and cleanliness and the extent to which they are related to hygiene. And where new habits have been passed upon other cultures without plan they have often riddled them. In some groups such as the Kgatla and in some Indian villages where it is used in poulticing and for

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W Smith 1946 p 583





ridiculous. With all the space around the village why should the people trouble themselves to dig holes for latrines. Where continuity between excreta and the individual was strongly felt in a region where sorcery was rampant, resistance was more strong. In the mountains of New Guinea, Dr Lambert of the Rockefeller Foundation found that the people felt safe only when they defecated in the midst of a mountain stream whose water then infected the users. In Malekula he found that the fear was so strong that he had great difficulty in securing the few specimens he did so as to find out whether hookworm was present. In Rennell, when his assistant first got a specimen in the presence of a number of people and was seen to enclose it in a covered box he precipitated a panic. Later after careful persuasion each man who brought in the can buried the material in the sand. Another belief that all illness comes as a penalty from God carried as its corollary that it was wasteful to try to prevent disease by building holes for excreta. When the patterns of resistance and their bases are known it may be possible to utilize them for the introduction of the latrines. For example in Uganda many groups were found to be afraid of using the latrines because these were fixed and known so that sorcerers could come and get the excreta for their hostile purposes. People felt safer when they could defecate at random in the bush. To use latrines indiscriminately by way of confounding the sorcerer would not work. Further since the individual is continuous with his excreta so that the feces of another in contact with his own can bring about contamination. The British medical services persuaded people to build latrines of such a depth that the excreta would be out of the soil so as to prevent contamination. In one instance village two latrines were eventually introduced for each household and were fitted to the pattern of village industry and in this way the latrines could be used alternately or a person of the family could be used alternately or a compost of safe fertilizer.

Dr Lambert in Papua and Dr Hyndrick in the Netherlands Indies found that where there was a strong resistance to the latrines they were usually easy to introduce than other hygienic measures. A hookworm was a chronic disease which held their attention over a long period and hookworm would be demonstrated, repeated, and demonstrated graphically and dramatically.

Edmund S. Brown et al. *ibid.* 1945 p. 72  
 pp. 52, 226, 295, 96, 304  
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campaign against tuberculosis: People do know the danger to which they are exposed, but they feel that to isolate the sick individual or to take precautions protecting the rest of the family would be to reject a member of the family. In West Africa "the whole family would rather contract disease and die from it than part with the infected member." Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico protest that no harm can come to them from their loved ones. The Navaho feel that this is a time when a man needs his relatives around him; they do have concepts of contamination but they also have measures for purging so that it is possible for the infectious person to join his people again soon.

### Responsibility for Care of the Sick

When a Burmese villager is ill it is he who immediately sends for a physician for drugs for treatment. When a Greek is ill he does not exhibit any need for care does not go to bed unless he is incapable of standing up thus exercising fortitude. When a Navaho is ill, it is his relatives who decide what is to be done and make the necessary arrangements. When a Jew from Eastern Europe is ill he must be helpless. The worker who knows this picture address his commendations to the appropriate person. It is not much use to try to persuade a sick Navaho to go to the hospital since it is his family who will actually make the decision for him. It is crucial to tell a Greek that he must stay in bed and do nothing for himself; it is much kinder to say this to his wife or other relatives so that the sick one should not have to be put in the position of asking for this pampering treatment.

There are different patterns of treatment in the various cultures. Where diseases are inflicted by the intrusion of foreign matter of spirit arrows or snakes or fish sucking is a common form of treatment. In Papua Dr. Lambert found the native doctors sucking out the pus of the hookworm and spitting it out in the form of a miniature snake. On the first contact with Western medicine it is usually for the first time that the Western practitioner is called only when all else fails. Burmese take mainly old diseases as medicine and have sold introduced into the body. The Navaho depend largely upon poultices and use a variety of greases. They use pitch as a poultice and when herbal concoctions are used it is first rubbed ritually on the body and then the remains are



comparison against tuberculosis. People do know the danger to which they are exposed, but they feel that to isolate the sick individual or to take precautions protecting the rest of the family would be to reject a member of the family. In West Africa the whole family would rather contract disease and die from it than part with the infected member. Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico protest that no harm can come to them from their loved ones. The Navaho feel that this is a time when a man needs his relatives around him; they do have concepts of contamination but they also have measures for purging so that it is possible for the infectious person to join his people again soon.

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### Treatment

There are different patterns of treatment in the various cultures. When a disease is inflicted by the intrusion of foreign matter of spirit throws naked flesh sucking is a common form of treatment. In Papua New Guinea a native found the native form of miniature naked hookworm.

in an unguent and sort of poultice first rubbed into the body and then the emulsion is used. The Navaho depend largely upon a variety of greases. They use pitch as a medicament, and have sold the body and then the emulsion is used. The Navaho depend largely upon a variety of greases. They use pitch as a medicament, and have sold the body and then the emulsion is used.





as poison this made sense and circumvented the necessity of determining whether the germs had true life or not. Control through elimination of insect carriers met with resistance in Buddhist societies some groups however may agree to destroy life if they are made to do so by someone who will assume the responsibility. In the destruction of plague-infested rats we find that, though such people will be unwilling to take life they are ready to abandon a village until all the rats have been forced to leave or they will lift the roofs off their houses so that the light forces the rats to leave. Africans and Greeks were delighted with the dramatic elimination of mosquitoes and vermin which accompanied the DDT campaign. Iranian farmers worried because pests were God-sent, and God might now send worse ones.

Immunization and vaccination are sometimes entirely acceptable. Some societies have the pattern of introducing potency and resistance to evil by the introduction of substances under the skin. The practice of picking the skin with a needle is also often present. The Burmese did not resist injections when the were first introduced for tattooing was prevalent here as well as the practice of introducing charms and medicines under the skin. In Oceanic regions where tattooing is prevalent, D. Lambert found that people came to him demanding the needle. Among the Tiv vaccination is acceptable when the headman endorses it and this is a region where the practice of slitting the skin and rubbing something into it prevails.

On the other hand S. Agrave encountered great resistance to inoculation among tribes in northern Burma. People deserted their villages in panic when they heard that he was coming to inoculate against a rising pandemic of the plague.

#### Physician

There are certain requisites for the acceptable physician. Moslems will not except when he changes has been carefully introduced—will not allow them to be examined by a male physician in Afghanistan where out of an estimated 18 to 20 pregnant women are often only one or two live births, and which is rife and repeated abortions are prevalent physicians cannot deliver them although venereal disease is suspected to prevent a male physician to look upon their faces or will not allow a male physician to conduct an internal examination, and certainly not to conduct an internal examination of the hang introduced by Kemal Ataturk, Moslem



farmers who are victims of exploding land mines left behind by the departing German army.

In Melanesia Dr Lambert found that people preferred to die of gangrene rather than have a limb amputated because they wanted to go complete to the after life lest the gods and the dead ride them for being incomplete.

In Burma Dr Seagrave found that the Kachin were ready and even eager for operation when they were sure that this was desirable. At one time a man offered a great sword for the incision by way of persuading Dr Seagrave who was hesitating over the advisability of operating on the abdomen saying that he would not hold the surgeon responsible if the operation failed. The need for surgery however was not usually recognized by these people until it was too late. For a year everyone undergoing appendectomy died since the patients came only after rupture yet they did not hesitate to come even though they knew that no one had survived this operation. In Africa also Dr Schweitzer found that the people were ready to accept surgery even that involving amputation and were impressed with the dramatic cure effected. At one time a man walked 300 miles to be operated on.

#### EFFECTS OF CHANGE

The effects of change and of regulations intended to bring about change have sometimes been unforeseen. Pure water campaigns directed at the elimination of enteric disorders, have actually reduced malaria through removing the source of the swamp and have resulted in better roads as in a village in Egypt, or a village park as in a Macedonian village. A hot tax in Africa and the scarcity in timber resulting from industrialization have brought about overcrowding and possibly an increase in ill health. The introduction of medicine has meant a loss of faith in the known and when the new medicines proved too expensive, people found themselves without any medicine.

Industrialization and the migration of labour as well as the opening of roads and the establishment of improved transportation, have meant that local diseases have been spread to areas where there was immunity. From tropical areas in Africa, these infections are brought to temperate regions, and here the newcomers are exposed to cerebro-spinal meningitis and tuberculosis and take the latter home with them. Tuberculosis in Africa has been aggravated by industrialization and

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Lambert, op cit. p 97

Seagrave, p ci pp 28-29 49 51

W. H. M. Malcolm Hall 1938 p 1139

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even rural results and their ramifications. Those who did either hailed the increase in material goods as a welfare or offered expenses of it when we money in kerosene lamp or a wooden wheeled wagon

Industrialization is with us to stay. We may decry its effects, as did a Venezuelan recently appalled at the hidden poverty of rich, industrialized Caracas. Yet, "The demographic consequences of industrialization constitute a powerful repulsive toward further industrialization. And other countries, still primarily agrarian, are now drawn into the process of industrialization as a result of contact with Western civilization. Sometimes in introducing a programme of industrialization or the building of great public works and large factories such countries have introduced radical change in the standard of living drastically curtailing consumers goods. Usually the effects have been much more far reaching and costly in human welfare than this statement implies.

The areas of agricultural change and industrialization overlap in certain respects. Large plantations usually owned and operated by people of Western origin, use large numbers of labourers as does industry and seeing the process merely as one of money making often exploit land and people. In Africa, plantations are often near the labourers but in New Guinea where labourers were brought from great distances, the same was such disruption, as well as demoralization among the large groups of men living without women and without families in villages. I doubt if mechanization itself whether in agriculture or in industry separates man from the traditional processes and techniques of his social unit.

Government is throughout the world has been away with the more basic ills of industrial labour. Women may no longer

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William M Coleman Haly 1938 p 699  
S M Lambert, 1941

as with the introduction of an economy have

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essential results and their ramifications. Those who did either hailed the increase in material goods as an increase in human welfare or offered romantic escapism. Even now after long experience and with all our awareness and intensive investigation of the concomitants of industrialization we are astounded when we see the far reaching results of the introduction of the kerosene lamp or a wooden-wheeled wagon.

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And other countries still primarily agrarian, are now drawn into the process of industrialization as a result of contact with Western civilization. Sometimes in introducing a programme of industrialization or the building of great public works and large factories such countries have introduced radical change in the standard of living drastically curtailing consumers goods. Usually the effects have been much more far reaching and costly in human welfare than this statement implies.

The areas of agricultural change and industrialization overlap in certain respects. Large plantations usually owned and operated by people of Western origin, use large numbers of labourers as does industry and so the process merely as one of money making off an exploited land and people. In Africa, plantations are often a part of the labourers' native villages so that the effect is in connexion with industry but in New Guinea where labour was brought from great distances there was such disruption as well as demoralization among the large groups of men living without women and without families or villages. In addition mechanization itself whether in agriculture or in industry separates man from the traditional processes and techniques of his social unit, from the skills which he learned as an aspect of his b longingness with his family or his identification with his father and his line of ancestry. Finally the effect on small farms where cash crops have been introduced is of the new money economy may have been widespread of the same kind as with the introduction of industrial wages.

Government throughout the world have done away with the man's obvious rights of industrial labour. Women may no longer

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 Richard C. Thurnwald 1915 p. 118





impoverishing the life of the individual and of the family? And if it does can industry provide an equally meaningful occupation to take up the released time? Again, the FAO report suggests that Greeks be persuaded to invest their money in industry so as to make industrialization possible but this runs counter to the Greek attitude of trusting only a sure thing in the future. A Greek traditionally likes his money in the form of a lump under the mattress, not as so many figures on a chart, or a number of shares of stock. And when people love their life on the land so much that the greatest gift of gratitude they can send to the United Nations is a jar of Peloponnesian earth, the displacement of the individual or the family from the village to the industrial centre could bring much distress. All these difficulties are not insurmountable but to effect technological change with the least human destruction these problems and others of their kind must be taken into account.

Actually there are patterns in Greek life that allow for continuity in spite of radical change of occupation. When Greek men first emigrated to the United States they brought with them the construct of the family and the village in one sense they never left home. They did not become part of the community around them and barely recognized its existence. They were no king for the family they had left behind, spending on themselves only what was absolutely necessary since they brother's education or an additional family field. With this background to give them stability and with the strong feeling for personal freedom they could take up a completely non-traditional occupation that did not demand obedience to the external authority of an employer and in which the structured relationships of the family could be reproduced. This was also true of Chinese emigrants who sustained by family continuity could safely be away from home for many years and take on the non traditional occupation of laundry in n.

### MONEY ECONOMY

Here we must distinguish between the presence of money in a community and money economy. For example Burma traditionally had essentially a subsistence and barter economy although money was in use. Money was not used to create more money out of a fortune or to make the individual independent of the family and the earning of money was in a vital part of it was not an end. Linton reports trying to buy things with a stock of pieces of raffia cloth from a trader in a Madagaskar market and of being refused on the ground that the trader would be bored through the rest of the



## INTRODUCTION OF NEW TOOLS

New tools are being introduced whether in agriculture or industry to save labor or to increase production, or to improve a product but the change they effect often involves much more than this. Where technology is simple the tool is an extension of the body: the shuttle elongates and refines the finger; the mallet is a harder and more powerful fist. The tool  
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in operation when she felt—by the  
 pounding mallet or the feel between her fingers—that the  
 process was complete. In the factory she is asked to adjust her  
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# EFFECTS ON HEALTH AND NUTRITION

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Menace wage-earners. The incentive to improve subsistence by wage-earning is reported lacking in many parts of Africa in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan when peasant proprietors found their incomes increased to unaccustomed amounts they did not know what to do with the surplus and spent it hiring others to do their work. Their incomes had been increased not through internal motivation such as may be found in the highly individualistic and obedient the

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In many parts of the world we find that one works as necessity calls. This may be the need for the day's food or for the payment of a debt. It may be the need of the

he does not know why he has to go to his job.

the need for speed which these implements represent they may be fully demonstrated in access to the computer. The exact

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inhibitions of fertilizers and insect pests matters to which the government attaches superstitious importance. In Turkey there was a shortage in qualified labour and low efficiency of unskilled labour because the worker simply did not like industry and did not remain long enough to be trained preferring to go back to his agriculture.

## INDUSTRY AND THE SOCIAL UNIT

Industrialization affects the social unit in a variety of ways which the struc

the man had to leave him to make money to buy cloth for his wife who had ceased to fit the traditional picture of a wife. In many parts of Africa the introduction of factory

industry was a social upheaval which became increasingly important, and after the local industries themselves disappeared, there were no goods to sell to produce money since cattle had a value beyond money so that the shops and wage-labour were the only answer with the company disruption in living patterns.

When men are forced to leave the village to earn wages the community relationship is greatly affected. In Africa, the reasons why men used to lop off the branches of large trees to burn as fertilizer for the garden the young men are now both and older men must take on this work, with the



to support the man who  
back, so the standard of living deteriorated. Without the home  
the home lost its place as an educational unit and there was  
no way of passing on the values of the society to the growing  
boy. With the dislocation in family life the displacement of  
authority came demoralization. Young girls unwilling to stay  
in villages without men followed the men to the cities where  
they often became prostitutes.

Some idea of the sheer depletion of the villages can be  
gained from the figures on migration. In 1933 it was esti-  
mated that 62 per cent of the able bodied male population  
of the Mikuyu and Kiambu, 74 per cent of the Nandi, 43  
per cent of the Lumbwa left the reserves as labourers.

In the mid thirties 50 per cent of the families in  
the reserves had

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In China in the twenties it was found that the largest per-  
centage of the men migrants stayed away three years. In  
men who work as labourers on plantations may

migrating labour

make the most successful adjustment, but this is only true  
where the cause of the system of relations previously in opera-  
tion or the progressive changes which have taken place which  
have led to such a system the immediate family is not too  
integrally knit to the large structure which provided for its  
function



for the long absences of the men when industrialization came with its demand and lure for men. Division of labour had been basic to family life and agricultural work so that there were disturbed. The loss of production was not balanced by the men getting the men earned since these usually were spent to support the man while away or to buy a few gifts to bring back to the standard of living deteriorated. Without the men, the home lost its place as an educational unit, and there was no way of passing on the values of the society to the growing boy. With the dislocation in family life the displacement of authority came demoralization. Young girls unwilling to stay in villages without men followed the men to the cities, where they often became prostitutes.

Some idea of the sheer depletion of the villages can be gained from the figures on migration. In 1933 it was estimated that 62 per cent of the able bodied male population of the Mikuyu and Kiambu 74 per cent of the Nandi, 43 per cent of the Lushwa left the reserves as labourers in China, in the mid thirties 50 per cent of the families in southern Shantung western Hupeh and northern Anhwei had been affected by internal migration usually by having some member leave.

The effect of the migration as we have seen differs according to whether or not the centre is at a great distance. If it is distant, the men may stay away several years at a time. In China, in the twenties it was found that the largest percentage of the men migrants stayed away three years. In Africa, the men who work as labourers on plantations may go only for the day at any rate are usually able to return after brief absences.

In some cases the whole family migrated. Ordinarily the migrating family that is the migrating immediate family make the most successful adjustment but this is only true when the use of the system of relations previously in operation is such a system the immediate family is not too integrally knit to a larger structure which is provided for its members as a major portion of its emotional satisfaction. The Greek migrating family manages to keep its emotional balance through keeping in close touch with the rest of the village unit, so as in the United States though reproduction in Brazil where migration of rural families was migration itself was not a disturbing factor.

H 1 pp 704-5  
Ed H South 1934 pp 333-34  
A m uch p cit p 203  
it is 1938 p 256  
El D Chaplin personal communication.



## SOLUTIONS IN PROCESS

The waste

of known associations and associations ties will make less disruption and at the same time will bring the increase in income needed for raising the standard of living. Village industries can provide the funds for raising the standard of living and can fill the gap created when handicrafts give way to manufactured goods. They can also in part, be the answer to the mechanization of agriculture which often releases time for which there is no provision. As it is in many villages in India, China, and the Philippines the farmers are actually partly unemployed. In the Chinese villages it is estimated that the farmers and farm labourers are unemployed for periods of six to eight months a year.

The introduction of village industries is not, however, without difficulties. In India it is found that the villagers often do not want to be organized into new co-operative units or any created units. Demonstration of the advantages of the new products is often not effective since the demonstration party does not stay long enough in the village to make a lasting impression on people who need a long time to assimilate new ideas. In China, in 1935 village industry in the district of Kia gyang was working havoc in family life. Before it was introduced the women had spent much of their time helping their husbands in the fields and had raised silkworms. When introduced the women had spent only during their free time their spinning and weaving on a hand machine was introduced. When knitting with a hand machine was introduced women had to spend so much of their time caring for old people and young children they had no time even to eat their meals with their families but ate at their work. In times of crop failure the loom had to be busy all the time if there was only one loom in the house. This meant that members of the family had to work at it in shifts 24 hours a day. This was an economic solution but one that failed on the social level. In southern Hopi also in the 1930s, it was found that commercialization had brought a shift in power and authority in the village. The ruling groups but the owners and administrators were the ruling groups. "The centre of political power of the village has been definitely shifted from

Sbrim, N. A. *Ag. rev.* 1949 p. 189  
 F. H. Jacoby 1949 p. 189  
 T. Bheemacharya, 1949 pp. 12-13  
 Lo-Chun p. 239-40  
 Chen Han-seng 1947 p. 62





participation in the work involved in making a living in community work and ceremonies as well as by giving him this training was supervised by schools for boys or often at adolescence age needed to enter of education was the

particularly because function of education

outlying village day for building them trade goods on which to spend them and often the destruction of native industries with which these goods competed thus taking away the livelihood of the crafts men. A desire for trade has become an incentive for cash crops introducing an imbalance in the agricultural process of its fertility and even of

repair the destruction already introduced and beyond this to make it possible for the people if they choose to take their place in the community of nations and to take advantage of the progress of science and technology in improving their standard of living

If the new education is to fill the place of the old it has to

it is to teach not only new ways but the need and the incentive for new ways. For the control of water borne disease for example, we must teach villagers not only how to boil

their water or dig wells and install pumps we also have to teach them how to recognize the need for this to stop accepting all water as water and therefore good to recognize that some impurity in the water makes it bad and dangerous to health. It is not enough to offer a change or an improvement of health. It is necessary to teach a dissatisfaction with the picture of health which includes some trachoma some infant diarrhoea some infant death as a matter of course. It is not enough to introduce co-operatives or techniques involving co-operation. It is necessary also to teach the people to recognize as valid the created group and to organize in terms of future benefits rather than according to established community patterns.

For many years schooling was not only ineffective but also disruptive because it was applied only to the young. Roles were reversed in the home so that the children became the teachers of the parents creating confusion in relationships and resentment on the part of the displaced leaders. A 'younger' generation in conflict with an older generation was created where there had been no such categories. In some societies where the structuring of authority was felt strongly the responsibility placed on the young to teach the old created insupportable conflict for them. Children taught in school not to spit on the floor to take baths regularly to be inoculated against epidemics lived in homes which taught the opposite. With the new conception of education as covering all areas of living came the recognition of society as the unit to be educated. In China the mass education programme initiated by James Yen was directed at adult groups as well as children and covered simplified reading and writing as well as public health agriculture and similar areas.

In the United States and increasingly in other countries it has been the function of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture to educate in areas of life other than literacy. In many countries now fundamental education is carried on by teams including social workers graduate nurses agricultural assistants home-economists hygienic experts. In past years as Margaret Mead says 'education of dependent peoples was for the purpose of their successful exploitation by more advanced economies. It is now recognized

Edmund d S Brun e and H rs 1945 pp 98 99  
Ib d. pp 94 95

Fl ce Kl khoh 1941

F d ment I Ed t 1947 pp 11 11

Ib d. p 82 Pea I S B k, 1945

Elisabeth S E och 1943 pp 20-24 F d ment I Ed t

pp 40-43 D Spe ce H tch 1944 p 57 Of la Hoope 1943 p 252

H len A Kitch 1950 p 5

M g t M d 1946 p 346

that the dependent and under-developed peoples will have to be given education in literacy so that they can participate in the larger world-community. They have to be given the grasp of the framework of the economy of the civilized countries, an understanding of money and credit and the ideas of pure number involved therein and some grasp of the implications of living by contract rather than according to established relationships.

A number of factors must be taken into account in introducing literacy. The main one is the conceptual framework and the structuring of knowledge and relationships within the society. For example, when American teachers had their Samoan pupils skip a grade at school, parents were ashamed, since precocity is decried in Samoa. When American teachers tried to teach Samoan children through introducing compe-

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Ibid. pp. 347-49

Ibid. p. 59

Ibid. p. 330

William M. Leach, *H. H. H. H.* 1938 p. 1245

*Functional Education* 1938 pp. 48-49 H. H. H. H. p. 1219

tions and in separate schools to educate the masses mainly in areas of living. French is the medium of instruction in both types of school.

In the Union of South Africa the colour bar whether legislatively operative or not means that there is no correspondence between attainment and reward. It has been suggested therefore that because the great bulk of Africans are to be unskilled labourers they should be educated realistically. But this is not acceptable to the non-European who wants book learning and wants to be like the Europeans.

Europeans are not content with Education represents their hunger for education.

However as poor provision is made for their schooling

In many areas there is a complaint that their schools are not adapted to the needs of the people.

In some areas the level of health is too low to make school attendance possible. In these areas the level of health is too low to make school attendance possible.

are children and adults. In some areas the level of health is too low to make school attendance possible.

include physical games and gymnastics. Turkey faced with the necessity of establishing schools in its 40,000 villages adapted school work to the seasonal occupation of its villagers and class work apart from the practical training.

is used in practical

To make schools a successful medium for literacy the people have to be educated in the meaning of literacy; their co-operation must be enlisted and incentives must be found or created. In many cultures there is no understanding of the need for continued attendance. Children will stay home for the

H. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 1282

F. de M. *et al.* *Ed.* *l.* *cit.* p. 73

Ib. *id.* pp. 78-79

Ib. *id.* pp. 70-71, 76. H. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 1223

M. G. *et al.* *R. d.* 1938 p. 35

H. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 1255

F. de M. *et al.* *Ed.* *l.* *cit.* p. 102

Ali *et al.* *R. m.* *E. p.* *osa.* 1942 p. 9

*Ed. cat. on* *l.* *th.* *A. w. T. R. Y.* 1950 p. 4. *F. l.* *T. key.* 1950

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Rural Reconstruction Scheme, *l.* *m.* *no.* *1.* *D.* *l.* *ict.* *Egypt*

... decision or to keep a sick brother company or

are because of forgetting

science or agronomy they are ready to teach these subjects or  
work in laboratories but not to set up demonstrations in rural  
areas or cultivate a demonstration plot. In Panama teachers  
refused to help with sanitation problems in the Netherlands  
Indies and Burmese nurses refused to do rural work since it in-  
volved manual work which in the urban hospitals was per-  
formed by men. In China higher education tended to create  
a group of unemployed, since it was beneath these people to

Tibbani M. p. ci. p. 239

Fundamental Educ. p. ci. p. 32

Ibid. pp. 99-101

Bruno p. 97

accept any non academic position. Specific cultural attitudes may make for difficulties in the specific area of instruction. In Afghanistan anatomy has to be taught from charts and prepared specimens as the religion does not permit human dissection or autopsy studies. Where the native population had been assigned inferior status higher education could not afterward be applied.

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before latr will be built and used since these are for the protection of others. It is needed for the application of general immunization for quarantine measures on the local national and international levels and for general hygienic precautions as in food preparation or garbage-disposal. The absence of such co-operative concepts is mentioned as an obstacle to industrialization.

Experience has taught us that change can best be introduced not through centralized planning but after a study of local needs. In China the mass-education programme was carried out by intellectuals who lived in the villages and learned the needs of the people. When this principle is not followed the education programme fails or even works harm. In many Latin American demonstration farms for example ways of keeping records on the basis of tractors and combines are shown to farmers who use only a foot plough and agronomists trained according to principles developed on the national level present to the cultivator material which is inapplicable on the local level. In Indo-China efforts at practical education in agriculture failed because they taught the value of fertilizer to people for whom it was too expensive to buy at a time when they had to pay interest at the rate of about 80 per cent for three months if they were to finance the purchase of fertilizer by borrowing. Actual harm was done when cultivators in Burma were persuaded to weed the

farmers were persuaded also according to generalized principles when young Turk sh

- F d m t l Ed t p cit pp 85-86  
J C C t l 1950 pp 690-91  
T Bheem ch ry 1949 pp 12-15  
B ck p c t pp 3-7  
Loom p cit p 124  
Ib d p 125  
E ch H J coby 1949 pp 152-53  
J S F r n all 1948 p 317

ples to remove from their wheat fields the stones which had re-  
in New Mexico

taminated.

Excellent results on the other hand are reported in cases where the programme of education was based on local needs. In the village of El Manayel in Egypt the building of a school house carried out on the basis of discussions with the villagers according to specific local needs meant village co-operation in the filling in of an unhealthy pond for the school site the leveling of the village streets to get material for filling in the pond and as an indirect result better communication.

When the specific needs of a locality or culture are discovered it is often still necessary to teach the people to recog-

motivated to adopt new ways on the basis of logical evidence or better results or of charts or scientific arguments. Most people  
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movies are not entirely effective as they move too fast for people who have to mull over things

Nun Eren 1946 pp 282-83

Loom op pp 126-27

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l th rur l Egypt El El 1939-44 i t ducl 2 cha ge

Brz op pp 94-95

Ib d pp 57-58

Sb l b person l common t p cit. See also M p h 1950

L A N cu d G C L th m 1937 pp 31-34 52 M Loom

p 124

Brn op ci p 94 Sh laby perso l common cat op cit.



Sometimes the traditional is so highly valued that no change is accepted as improvement. Workers find it difficult to motivate people in Latin America in terms of future benefits or an improved standard of living and extra cash income through wages or cash crops is not used to raise the standard of living because this standard is not valued. In some regions of Africa, to ask the people to reduce their herds of cattle for the sake of their own better nutrition or to exchange them for better breeds or to sell some for cash to improve their own living conditions is like asking a mother to exchange her beloved child for a fairer or more robust one or for two strange children.

Sometimes people resist new ways because the old have the sanction of the valued past or of religion. In such cases the worker often introduces change by using this sanction in support of it. When artificial insemination was introduced in Greece under the auspices of the Near East Foundation in 1945 the bulls were first blessed by high church dignitaries in the customary religious manner.

and women were forbidden during Lactation to drink milk at this time. It was made acceptable by placing a pump over them. In Lebanon, which was needed to get uncontaminated water found sanction in quotations from the Koran to the effect that cleanliness was required from every faithful Moslem and the Koran was likewise used to provide sanction for co-operation and land improvement. When Kemal Ataturk made his sweeping changes in Turkey he went about the villages talking with the people and showing them that he himself practised these things for example before he forbade the wearing of the fez, he visited the villages wearing a hat. In the Middle East the glorious past is also used as a sanction and conversely an enemy's tradition is applied as an adverse sanction. Kemal for example told the Turks that the fez was the distinguishing head gear of the Greeks. A Greek manual addressed to mothers urges that they suckle their own babies like the Homeric heroines and that they stop swaddling them as in doing so they are following the barbarous custom of the ancient Romans.

In many societies impersonality is abhorrent or at any rate ineffective. Workers have found that programmes have a far greater chance of successful acceptance if they are personally introduced by people whom they know.

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Bro op cit p 99

Am I T 1950 p 269

S Im Ek em 1947 pp 11 55

through him, and the motivation for carrying it out will be rooted in loyalty to him. I shall try it for your sake is common phrasing in this situation. In the Netherlands Indies the expert was more readily accepted when the expert was physi-

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operation of the community priest helps to accomplish a project of education in only a fraction of the time otherwise needed, and with more efficiency. Experience in future

dignitaries so direct. But these must be the *own* dignitaries with whom they are in an established *patron* relationship.

These are factors common to the introduction of change in material. There are specific factors to be considered in particular areas. Land reform for example has not always had

Hydrick, p. cit. pp. 18-19

M. p. cit. pp. 284-85 Kitchen, p. cit. p. 34

Bruner, p. m. pp. 54-55

R. th. Be. ed. 1943 pp. 103-5 Redfield, op. cit. pp. 642-45

Alex. d. H. L. ch. d. D. th. C. Leigh, 1944 p. 58

D. A. Soul. des. 1949 pp. 10-11

Bruner, p. cit. pp. 123-24

T. l. p. cit. pp. 15-19

Loomis, p. cit. p. 91

the anticipated results because the people as in Turkey in the nineteenth century and in Mexico had not been educated in proprietorship. The attempt to teach isolation of the sick fails because it cannot be presented in the name of either the individual or the family. Where the family is not a collection of individuals but a unit in its own right what is good for one is automatically good for the family and since it is good for the sick to have loving companionship this cannot be bad for the family.

Finally it has been proved by experience that the vernacular is the most effective and the most emotionally satisfying medium of instruction. In this way literacy is not merely associated with the foreign but is

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## IV SPECIFIC MENTAL HEALTH IMPLICATIONS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

There are two aspects of the problem of technical change seen from the point of view of mental health: mental health services themselves as one type of technical change and a condition of mental health as the generalized goal of technical change. The latter includes not only

behaviors—such as seeing ghosts, hearing voices, believing that other people are killing one by magic—and symptoms of genuine mental illness. Even in Western countries where psy-

may be very difficult to distinguish from attacks of catatonia, schizophrenia. It may even be found that members of a society customarily fall into a benign deep stupor when they meet with frustrating or frightening situations—as is the case for the Balinese. Where psychiatry has existed side by side with religion for a long period as in the West, a mutual accommodation takes place and it is possible for the religious leadership to develop criteria which will distinguish between individuals who may be regarded as supernaturally blessed but not mentally unbalanced and individuals whose mental illness has a high religious content. In introducing psychiatric practices into countries in which no such *modus vivendi* between religion and psychiatry has been worked out, a great deal of preliminary work needs to be done to establish criteria for diagnosis. This will be found to be true in

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Among some peoples wound healing is regularly delayed and a failure to heal will be significant only if it occurs beyond these delayed limits; among others the rate of healing of a particular wound may have to be evaluated against a very high customary healing rate. So the whole range of somatic symptoms which modern psychiatry assumes to have at least in some cases a strong psychogenic component have to be explored within the cultural setting before they can be evaluated diagnostically.

When there is any attempt to go beyond the diagnosis of psychotic states or of specific somatic symptoms to the diagnosis and treatment of neurosis, even greater caution is needed. Behaviour which would be regarded in the Western world as a sign of a highly developed

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are societies for example in which the

only way in which the son can leave home is by having a terrific quarrel with his father: what would appear to be highly unbalanced and dangerously hostile behaviour if seen only once in a single individual will be found—when the whole cultural situation is known—to be a customary dramatic way of breaking ties of dependency between one generation and another. Societies differ very much as to how and when the younger generation is weaned from the

being sent

the boarding-school being put on a régime of strict frugality and abstinence from all gentleness etc. The clinging affectionate behaviour of a boy of 12 to his mother cannot be evaluated as unusual and a sign of neurotic needs—on his or her part or both their parts—until the rest of the social maturation process

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may be very difficult to distinguish from attacks of catatonic schizophrenia. It may even be found that members of a society customarily fall into a benign deep stupor when they meet with frustrating or frightening situations—as in the case for the Balinese. Where psychiatry has existed side by side with

who may be regarded as supernaturally blessed but not mentally unbalanced and individuals whose mental illness has a high religious content. In introducing psychiatric practices into countries in which no such *modus vivendi* between religion and psychiatry has been worked out a great deal of preliminary work needs to be done to establish criteria for diagnosis. This will be found to be true not only for such complex matters as trance and vision experience but also for such simple matters as the accurate reporting on and localization of pain or the evaluation of the psychogenic component in the healing of a wound. Among some peoples wound healing is

sign of a highly developed obsessional neurosis may be quite conventional in another culture—as for example ritual cleanliness or periods of extreme sexual licence. When it is also

only way in which a person having a terrific quarrel with another person may be highly unbalanced if seen only once in a single individual with a certain cultural situation is known—to be a customary dramatic way of breaking ties of dependency between one generation and another. Societies differ very much as to how and when the younger generation is weaned from the parent generation. Some are permissive and permit a high degree of physical freedom, while others are authoritarian and are followed by a harsh and sudden change of some sort being sent

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 outside and, wherever possible, work closely with those concerned with public health educational and industrial and agricultural planning. In this way the particular insights of the consulting room and the implications of such insights for the design of a school system, a maternity centre or a factory may be highlighted. For while it may well be true that there are certain basic psychic nutrients which each human individual needs for his fullest and most harmonious development, these nutrients—of human love, care, stimulation, reassurance—are mediated so differently in each society that the most profound and detailed attention—on the spot—is needed to be sure that, instead of blanket prescriptions, which may involve serious errors, detailed adjustments to real situations are made. Otherwise a great number of contradictions will develop, just as they have in the field of nutrition, where in an attempt to prevent the danger of infection from the practice of pre-chewing the infant's supplementary food, mothers—themselves undernourished—have been told ... and rely only on breast milk or

... will be most feasible which types of patients may with safety and promise be hospitalized together, whether hospitalized on of the mentally ill will in fact, so mean to the population kind and protective of on the contrary cruel and unnecessary and so defeat the development of popular sensitivity which is being ... are de-

assumption that the mother is the crucial person for such consultation may need to be modified to include the grand  
 J. Bowlby 1951



ened public opinion as in part at least the consequences of the lack of preventive services. Then each mad beggar who disappears from the streets—as treatment services develop—will by his absence help to point up the possibility of a world in which not only are the streets empty of mad beggars and vagrants but also in which such waste of human beings can be at least in part prevented. If the centres are seen as a device and humane public opinion of spending time and effort on whom are hopelessly mentally diseased—instead of devoting all available skills and energies to preventive services can be resolved.

Behind the movement for better mental health for all of mankind stands the finding of the psychiatrist who has worked for a lifetime with individuals through hundreds of hours of patient unravelling of lives which have been distorted and broken beyond any necessary expectation from heredity and constitutional weakness the psychiatrist who says *This need not happen*.

For each society and for each segment of society within which the psychiatrist finds his patients he is able to provide new insights which when translated with the help of educators and social scientists become preventive measures to provide for the better mental health of future generations suggestions for new social practices within which each growing child may be assured a better start. But this must be local it is not possible to gain insights in a large Pan American plant. Latin American psychiatrists working in the industrialized West may come to emphasize the hazards of the weakened family structure and the broken home. But the psychiatrists working in unindustrialized sections of southern Europe or the Near East may simultaneously

we do not yet have a fully developed industry in structure and organization. The expected change in educational practice and ways of earning a living then in order to provide against the forms of mental illness now known and to prevent the development of new forms of mental illness do this. Human culture is so complex that it seems unlikely that it will ever be possible to write prescriptions in such a form. Rather it is necessary to suggest—in the light of our present

consideration—from the standpoint of mental health—in the introduction of any technical change should be the safe guarding of the population against further mental ill health against the expression in individual lives of the disorganization and disruption accompanying the introduction of new techniques and ways of living. The earlier chapters in this manual have been devoted to a consideration of methods and consequences of change seen on the social level which cultural attitudes must be taken into account how the cultural practices of a people may be used to facilitate change how a people who are not ready to come to use it, how a people whose culture nourish  
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Here we do not have the detailed case histories of conflict

and are recorded.

parents etc according to the age and sex of a child patient. The role of the psychiatrist himself will have to be varied. Experience has shown that the European pattern of psychia-

work together different divisions of role between the clerical and psychiatric professions develop. It is only necessary to raise the question of what model a psychiatrist would use in a country in which the gods are treated as children of the wor-

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but again this can only be done on the spot by foreign practitioners responding sensitively to experience with patients and by physicians from the countries themselves modifying the practices which they have learned in Western medical schools or from the imported medical practices of the urban West.

Throughout this discussion it is important to realize that much of what has been said about the introduction of psychiatric practice into countries which have not previously had psychiatric services applies also to the rural and under-developed regions of countries where psychiatry has been highly developed but principally in urban areas. In such countries only by working on the spot with the local inhabitants can practices be designed which are genuinely congruent with the habits and needs of the people—and such practices may differ sharply from those appropriate to urban populations even of the same nationality.

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very rudimentary form they can best be developed parallel to the infusion of a mental health approach in other health

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## TECHNICAL CHANGE AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Just as a first step in establishing any mental health programme in a new area is the incorporation of clinical insights so a first

or a way of giving their welfare and safety into the hands of sorcerers. An improved form of house may also be a house without the proper magical screens to baffle the demons who may enter and make one ill. Substitution of a more or less destructible cooking pot may be seen as lowering the value of a bride because of a change in the  
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beings will respond they cannot predict the particular responses.

- 5 Any significant change in the life of an individual tends to introduce some degree of instability or disharmony in the way his life activities, his beliefs and attitudes, are organized. Such instability can be described psychologically as emotional tension.

A significant change results in tension either because old behaviour is found to be inadequate or by creating a new situation for which new behaviour must be acquired. The old responses—the way a man handled a tool or led a work party or called in a haman to cure a sick child—have usually been an essential part of the individual's sense of self.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES WHICH MAY BE UTILIZED DURING THE PROCESS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

In this section we deal specifically with those findings of

concerned with technical change—whether the results are expressed in increase of yield per acre or increases in total national export or reduction in the infant death rate—are of course concerned in the final analysis with individuals. But there is a definite difference in the level of this concern and it is to the worker within the village or the school, the agricultural demonstration station and the local public health clinic who works day after day with a small number of identified human beings that this discussion is specially directed.

- 1 The agents of change—the teacher the agricultural extension worker the nurse—must realize that their own behaviour beliefs and attitudes are not universal and axiomatic. They must realize that their ways of counting reckoning time judging conduct expressing enthusiasm or disgust, are—like the behaviour beliefs and attitudes of those whom they are helping to change—learned and traditional.
- 2 The beliefs and attitudes of the people among whom they are working must be seen as having functional utility. For each individual they give continuity to his personality permit him to feel that he is a named identified person the same person—only older or more important although fatter or just elected to office—that he was yesterday.

people. If the teacher or extension agent recognizes such clinging to old beliefs and practices as having real usefulness for an individual rather than interpreting it as evidence of stubbornness unco-operativeness ignorance inability to learn etc. he will be better able to introduce changes.

- 3 Any change must be examined from the point of view of the individuals who are exposed to the change. Where a change may seem to the expert to be merely a better way of feeding cattle or of disposing of waste to the people it may seem to be a rejection of the commands of the god.

The possible consequences of frustration are very numerous and they are not by any means all bad. The nature of the consequences depends partly upon the severity of the frustration. Frustration has an intense consequence

tools of production have little energy. The new tools oppressed and enslaved peoples who drown their sorrows in singing about a heaven in which all loads will be lightened are not as likely to welcome agitation for improved conditions on this earth. However, while a man who is mildly thwarted may show negligible changes in his behaviour, summation of many minor frustrations whose effects are cumulative can result in severe changes in behaviour. This should be remembered when a series of plans is made each one of which appears to involve only a slight change—getting to work a little earlier, being paid a little differently, obtaining supplies from a different spot, etc.

Many or most of the frustrations experienced in daily life are not harmful and for this reason the term "blockade" which is neutral has been proposed. The tensions set up by the new learning required, the old habit relinquished, the longer series of acts necessary to reach the goal, resolved without disrupting the successful

of a new way

It is conceivable then that it is not harmful from a mental health point of view to stimulate needs, desires, demands among peoples who now feel no such needs or desires, or who are not conscious of them or articulate about them. Such stimulation does of course create stability and harmony and tension. If men are

the case of increased use of cow's milk in Thailand or increased use of milk for babies in Greece. But if the

viduals learning new habits can encourage each other by sharing accounts of difficulties and making suggestions for new habits interpretations from experienced workers that the tensions experienced are to be expected

Although we may expect that the existence of such tensions will be accompanied by changes in the individual's behaviour which tend to reduce the original tension the dissipation of such tensions may take a considerable time or may not be successful If the dissipation of the tension is not successful the individual remains in a state of maladjustment or frustration A common consequence of such a state of frustration is that the individual returns to the old responses that he had begun to abandon But these old responses are likely to seem less satisfactory than they once were and so he may remain maladjusted The illiterate who attempts to learn to read and fails is a very much less satisfied person than the peasant by whom learning to read was never considered a possible or even a suitable activity

It is the general experience of psychiatrists that even when changes in an individual's life are very painful for him to achieve if he has a strong wish to change then the successful resolution of his tensions is quicker and more likely and there are fewer returns to old and undesired responses Also there may be less tension and reluctance to change if the new procedures deal with the recognized difficulties and sufferings of the people and will directly help to resolve those difficulties and reduce those sufferings which have long been endured as inevitable

It follows that there is less reason to fear mental health disturbances among those populations in which the individuals affected by the change have themselves desired the change Hence the provision by the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations that requests for technical assistance be initiated in the countries involved is supported by psychiatric experience with the responses of individuals observed clinically

- 6 Frustration may be discussed under four main headings (a) physical environment (b) biological limitations (c) psychological make up and (d) social environment A few technical devices are available to the first three

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The concepts of individual human worth and new medical practices may remain as persistent sources of frustration

The possible consequences of frustration are very numerous, and all bad. The nature of the severity of the consequence to appear is responsive behaviour is likely to withdraw from society or to smile when he is angry or to become bedridden, as a consequence of frustration. Also workers who bend all their efforts to destroy new technology learn to use

a man who is mildly thwarted may show negligible changes in his behaviour. Accumulation of many minor frustrations whose effects are cumulative can result in severe changes in behaviour. This should be remembered when a series of plans is made each one of which appears to involve only a slight change—getting to work a little earlier, being paid a little differently, obtaining supplies from a different spot, etc.

Many or most of the frustrations experienced in daily life are not harmful and for this reason the term "blockade" which is neutral has been proposed. The tensions set up by the new learning required, the old habits relinquished, the longer series of acts necessary to reach the goal are resolved without disrupting the successful

often a new way

It is conceivable then that it is not harmful from a mental health point of view to stimulate needs, desires, and demands among peoples who now feel no such needs or desires, or who at least are not conscious of them or articulate about them. Stimulation does, of course



desire to have new kinds of machinery or new food or new free education is stimulated and then because of poverty or lack of personnel the desire cannot be realized persistent frustration is to be expected with possible return to old behaviours which will then be less satisfactory than in the past. There are then clearly dangers here. In the advanced industrial nations the desire for longevity has been carried to the point where millions of people have the medical care to keep them alive but no way of making these later years of life meaningful. Thus mass frustration exists among the aged. The danger of cultivating felt needs which are unrealized under existing conditions can be diminished by keeping close to local conditions to that which is immediately feasible so that training teachers precedes building local schools importing

attitudes. The man roused to anger is not the best social planner. People on a starvation diet are not likely to produce new and workable patterns of economic activity. So share-croppers who have only fat meat to give their children may force their children to like fat because it is absolutely necessary that they learn to eat it or parents in a country with meat rationing may forget all they have learned about not forcing their children to eat because that particular bit of meat cooked for the Sunday meal is all the meat the child will get. Immigrants from country to city may try to embrace every detail of the new way of life losing all sense of continuity.

7 When frustration persists and is intensified consequences

lower  
(a)

large people who ignored the changes which took place in the larger towns may actively combat them when they have failed to incorporate them into village life. Young men who are given no chance to use a new form of education which they saw as designed to fit them for a higher form of work may return to unskilled work but with new resentment.

- (b) The individual's behaviour may become less mature more childish but feelings and emotions may be more poorly controlled or new forms of dependency may develop.
- (c) The accumulated tensions may find expression in aggressive acts such as feelings and action of anger.

(d)

- to modern technology to acquire the necessary new knowledge
- (e) The individual may be forced to learn in a fragmented and often unrelated way such as chronic fatigue

Little systematic information exists concerning the percentages of individuals who under sustained conditions have developed this or that consequence of frustration, or one or



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 purposes reinforced the new

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change in many parts of the world as it has in the work of the

intense emotional disturbance with blockage of the individual  
 new behaviour For example a public health nurse had been  
 a mother



oneself (solitary activities) and the time spent in responsive contact (social activities with other people) during a waking day

In any society we may assume that for each individual there are limitations during his waking day upon the amount of responsive participation with others of which he is capable while experiencing sufficient over all emotional satisfaction. There limitations will probably involve (a) the total amount of interaction with other people (b) the frequency of such interactions with other people (c) their nature—that is whether they are subordinate-superordinate relationships affectional hostility-provoking etc. Thus an individual's mental health at a given period in his life may depend upon a type of relationship with his peers which compensates or balances periods when he is under the orders of a superior or is himself responsible for the activity of others. He may be depending upon a certain ratio of planned activity to unplanned, or of gregariousness to solitariness or of using his hands to using words or symbols. Severe disturbances in such a customary pattern of distribution of time result in tension, which the individual seeks to relieve. Furthermore while each individual has his own unique pattern the patterns of interaction in a given culture will be found to show definite regularities so that by sampling the lives of a given group of individuals, it will be possible to see what changes are likely to occur through new habits of work, different agricultural equipment, factory labour etc.

Each technical change being considered can then be examined against this customary pattern, even when the change is the substitution of a single tool, or the simple introduction of a new method of transportation between home and work. The change may reduce the need to do a job and so free more time for more jobs or for other social or solitary activities. It may require that new relationships to people be developed either to replace those disrupted by giving up the old working process or to carry out the new process. Associated with the old tool or the old method of transport, will be old beliefs and attitudes. The agent of change can then ask whether the new change will alter the observable pattern of social interaction and associated beliefs and attitudes to such a degree as to strain the individual's capacity for readjustment. Workers on plantations who are well paid, but for whom no social activities are provided, may become bored in vice and alcoholism simply in an attempt to establish an expected ratio between work and relaxation. Decreases in the length of the working day may lead to maladjustment unless new ways of using time are available. Closer contact with their workers when it replaces former solitariness of the



New sources of emotional satisfaction must be developed during his working-day if emotional stability is to be maintained.

In addition, technical changes not directly affecting individual workers patterns of work relationships may produce serious alteration in work relationships. New types of housing may make it necessary to reduce the size of the family who live together; new types of water-supply may transform what was once a pleasant communal method of laundering into a solitary and hated domestic chore. Factory-made instead of home-woven cloth may prevent the wife from demonstrating her wifely devotion by long hours over pot or kettle. With such changes in patterns of domestic work, of distribution of time of distribution of interaction within the family strain is experienced.

In medicine it has been discovered repeatedly that a specific remedy for a disease may have serious side-effects creating organic disturbance or other ill effects not intended or expected. In the same way a very useful new tool, practice, or technique may be highly effective for the specific purpose intended, but have disturbing side-effects upon the individual and the whole social organization. Further the total system of an individual's relationships may be disturbed by technological changes which usually affect neither himself as a worker nor anyone in his immediate family. The public health man and priest. The ratio of old men to young is upset by introduction of labour for distant mines or plantations. The introduction of cash was not needed before. Widespread disturbances in an individual's habitual relationships within his community may occur as consequences of initially localized technical changes wherever these may be—whether in the local economy in the system of government, in the administration of public health, in the educational system, or elsewhere.

An attempt is made therefore, to evaluate such proposed changes by gathering initial information about the total existing pattern of relationships of the individuals involved and by asking whether a significant change in part or all of this pattern is a likely result of any specific technical change. Associated changes in beliefs and attitudes as well as in habits should be carefully considered. The observations can be obtained from detailed records of several consecutive days waking activities. It is necessary to know the total amount of time acted on an individual has with each other person (total number of minutes or hours per day per week) the number of contacts per day or per week with a particular person.



individual peasant working alone in a garden may prove unbearable unless other changes are introduced. It may be possible for an individual to tolerate almost continuous interaction with people whom he knows and can take for granted, while a much less prolonged contact with strangers may be taxing and may lead to strain and maladjustment. But in other cultures it may be too close contact with relatives or neighbours introduced by some change in working hours proves hard to bear.

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If in the recent past there have been any significant changes in the way people live a knowledge of how these changes have occurred and how people felt about them may give some promising clues to the form their present readiness or reluctance to change may take. Changes due to the use of new tools or materials or to new power sources are more obvious than changes which occur in individual work habits or in patterns of social interactions. But the mental health of the individual tends to be more affected by the last two.

New methods of exchange of goods and payment for work associated with an economy based on money and credit may profoundly affect work patterns. If marked changes occur in the length of time between the completion of a particular task and the payment for that task the individual worker's social relationships may be profoundly disturbed. He can no longer plan for his own or his sister's marriage for illness or for funerals debts mount up. He is no longer able to maintain a stable and habitual set of relations.

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degree of such changes their impact upon the individuals concerned thus laying the basis for helpful preventive or compensating measures.

Changes in work may be reflected in changes of the interactional pattern within the family. The worker may be away longer he may not be able to provide in the same way for his children new and irksome forms of supervision or speed up may disturb him emotionally and this may be reflected in his family life. The small farmer who now works in a factory may have fewer contacts each day with his wife his children and other relatives with whom he used to do his farm work.

also relieves his tension. A man thrown out of a job in an industrial society tries to adjust himself to living unemployed, and he may also for the first time feel a need to understand how the economic system works. Thus at times of individual or group crisis the situation is more favourable for adaptive changes in habitual behaviour, beliefs and attitudes. Groups which have themselves felt and expressed a need for technical change are more likely to be aware of the crisis which develops in their lives as a result of the desired change and so be able to make an effort to adapt to it constructively.

2. A technical change will be perceived by the affected individuals as a smaller change if the change can be incorporated into an unchanged larger pattern of relationships thus taking advantage of the way in which human perception organizes objects or events together on the basis of proximity in time or space or culturally determined similarity. Thus families may migrate a great distance but preserve their usual habits of family life. Or upon entering a new country an individual may begin to do new work but of a type which has been defined appropriate for anyone from his country so that his sense of his national identity is strengthened even while the work itself is new and strange.

Even in very complicated situations in which technical changes cannot be fitted into an existing community or family framework, it may be quite possible to find in operation institutions or existing patterns of interaction which have sufficient similarity to the new desired behaviour to make the introduction of change easier.

In any attempt to use old ways of behaviour to facilitate change it is however important to keep in mind that sometimes a change will be accepted more easily if it is new in a new context. So a new kind of organization may be perceived as more appropriate for a new kind of activity—so that people will accept a factory and a union together where either one alone might be rejected. Paper cups may be accepted more readily if an unfamiliar beverage is served in them. New foods may be accepted if they are introduced together with a new kind of stove or fuel. Thus the tendency of the human mind to organize and simplify may be invoked by grafting new forms of behaviour onto old forms so that the new seem old and familiar or by letting one break in traditional behaviour carry a number of other breaks.

3. An individual is able to learn as a function of the way in which he perceives a situation. Failure to understand the leads to unwarranted discouragement about the learning capacities of other peoples. "They can't learn from



It relieves his tension. A man thrown out of a job in

a result of the desired change and so is able to make an

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strange

Even in very complicated situations in which technical changes cannot be fitted into an existing community or family framework, it may be quite possible to find in operation institutions or existing patterns of interaction which have sufficient similarity to the new desired behaviours to make the introduction of change easier

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experience we say. This often simply means that what the expert or the innovator saw in a sequence of events differed sharply from what the people saw. Each person learns from the sequence as he perceives it.

A famous example of the operation of this principle was the unforeseen effect upon the American public of Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*. Mr. Sinclair was a crusading friend of the overworked and underpaid; he hated cruelty, exploitation, and the cheating of the innocent. He observed how people lived in the Chicago stock yards and put his book

The facts which he

need for a co-operat-

of his American readers; however, were not socialists but they were meat-eaters. They perceived Mr. Sinclair's facts in their own way. They read about the human beings and the rats who had fallen into the lard vats and were then sold as food. They concluded that a new pure food law was required, and Upton Sinclair's novel led to a reform.

Sometimes a perception will be so dependent upon an underlying set of fundamental beliefs that it will not be possible to change a practice without

This must be very carefully evaluated before any of the principles found can be applied in a different setting. It is particularly important to allow for the extensive qualitative

differences which quantitative changes in scale may introduce. A village is not a model for a province or a nation.

rupted the worker who must learn to keep pace with a machine or to accept some new form of association or supervision.

But from the standpoint of mental health the hazards of change are actually not as great for those who are involved thus immediately as they are for their children. The peasant who comes to the city brings with him all the stability derived from a childhood spent within a tradition.

trust even in a world that is not fixed —  
 need new methods of  
 mind open longer —  
 less stylized methods  
 in knowledge but in *knowing* what could be but is not  
 known

In all technical change even when it seems to be concerned with tools machines and other impersonal objects the individual person is both the recipient of change and the mediator or agent of change. His integrity as a person his stability as a personality must be kept ever in focus as the living concern of all purposive change

## V PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING MENTAL HEALTH DURING TECHNICAL CHANGE

It is recognized that during technical change difficulties and conflicts are inevitable. This survey does not offer solutions to these problems but rather indicates how these problems can be approached so as to minimize the difficulties or conflicts creating problems of adjustment preserve and where possible promote mental health.

We may now summarize the general principles which can be derived from the type of materials which have been examined for this survey.

- 1 The culture of each people is a living *process* 1
- 2 1
- 3 An active concern for the mental health of the peoples of the world includes an active concern for the ways in which technical change is taking place. When the introduction of technical change is purposively initiated or promoted by individuals or responsible bodies such purposiveness involves responsibility for the effects not only in improved living-conditions, but also upon the total way of life of the

people for reintegration as well as a defence against disintegration.

- 4 As each culture is unique and as each particular situation within which a change is occurring or is to be made is unique, the prescriptions for what to do to each

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account the culture and the situation and the individual involved

- 5 All changes should be introduced with the fullest possible

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is concerned

- 7 In the light of these general principles we may consider in somewhat more detail a set of recommendations which should make it possible to observe these principles in any given case.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

First

It is important to take into account the degree of congruence between different levels of planning from the international or



national level to the final expression of any change in the daily lives of some identified group of people in some part of the world. If there are serious discrepancies in the practices involved or in the goals sought at higher levels these will be reflected in the way the changes are made which affect the lives of the people whose farming practices methods of earning a living or health attitudes are to be changed. For example if a government is promoting a given change for purposes of

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people—so that what is a sub goal for one group is a major goal for the second group—a type of internal sabotage and friction may be set up which will be reflected in discordant practices at a more local level in literature produced or plans

As there are bound to be great differences in goals at different levels and in different sorts of planning—international national scientific humanitarian educational engineering etc—the identification of a common sub-goal—such as universal vaccination—may prove impracticable. Those concerned with population growth may well point out infant death rate before adequate changes practice to sup-  
national practices

Such a conflict, when compared with the conflict between modern Western values—in which each individual is seen as unique and with but one life to live so that every effort must be made to promote the survival and health of each individual born—and the values

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Chinese infant, the conference emphasized the need in China  
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Also — — — Chinese economists were wary of a plan which will  
prom — — — — —

to have a vested interest—economic or psychological—in  
the preservation of the status quo or in the promotion of con-  
ditions which are antithetical to the best mental health of the

members of the society Here again the question of sub-goals comes in If the entire group involved in making a plan is committed to the particular sub goal the alteration of the plans in the direction of genuine cultural considerations may more safely be relied upon Thus in a conference on nutrition while one cannot with

cultural backgrounds to introduce them upon nutritionists of different

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ture of the particular professions and of the administrative apparatus concerned as soon as any planned change has a specific population group as its object members of that group—through demonstration villages pilot projects etc—must be brought into the planning

Whether we focus on the need for homogeneity in type of practice or on the need for reconciling widely different basic ideologies and values this procedure

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Certain other recommendations follow It is desirable that all groups involved with change—

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include of course the members of the culture in which the change is being made members of the culture whose developed professional skills or economic know how and resources are being drawn upon and members of a third culture who can maintain a certain objectivity and prevent the consuming group and the resource group from becoming dead locked or developing an isolated bit of behaviour in which the conflicts—between for example Indonesian and American or Burmese and Dutch value systems—may become frozen This same recommendation applies to the composition of every type of team within a country if the national level and rural communi

ness are the focus of the planning the inclusion as a third  
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count.

Second

Where specific technical practices are to be introduced into a culture or a part of a society which has not hitherto used them it is desirable to strip these technical practices of as many extraneous cultural accretions (from the lands of origin) as possible. This recommendation applies to such varied matters as mass production methods of immunization development of alphabets for unwritten languages methods of antisepsis or of sanitation, etc. It is realized that the technologies and institutions of modern science are themselves the outgrowth of a very particular historically limited type of culture—a

tempt to estimate all types of phenomena so that lawfulness

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Particular device may be used effectively by peoples within whose culture that particular invention might never have been made. It is also probable that too much emphasis upon the whole complex of cultural attitudes surrounding such innovations as locks thermometers shock therapy printing caloric food-counts assembly line production Diesel engines or electronic self-corrective devices may slow down the possi-

members of the society. Here again the question of sub-goals comes in. If the entire group involved in making a plan is committed to the particular sub-goal, the alteration of the plans in the direction of genuine cultural considerations may more safely be relied upon. Thus in a conference on nutrition while one cannot with safety rely upon a representative of a manufacturer of synthetic baby foods or the advocate of a change in the agricultural production pattern of a country to a crop of which he is the principal exporter or the representative of a group whose particular services will disappear if any action is taken, one can rely upon *nutritionists* of different cultural backgrounds to introduce the necessary precautions into any nutritional plan made.

As a general recommendation then, it is possible to say that it is dangerous ever to make any plan or to try to execute any plan without the active participation of members of the culture of the particular professions and of the administrative apparatus concerned, as soon as any planned change has a specific population group as its object. Members of that group—through demonstration villages, pilot projects, etc.—must be brought into the planning.

Whether we focus on the need for homogeneity in type of practice or on the need for reconciling widely different basic ideologies and values, this procedure is necessary. The arrogant self-assurance which makes more industrialized countries force their methods on the less industrialized, the touchy eagerness to prove themselves that characterizes young nations, the missionary zeal of the apostles of the scientific point of view and the defensive measures of the religiously orthodox may all be welded into a working whole if exponents of each position plan together.

Certain other recommendations follow. It is desirable that

change is being made, members of the culture whose developed professional skills or economic know-how and resources are being drawn upon, and members of a third culture who can maintain a certain objectivity and prevent the consuming group and the resource group from becoming deadlocked or developing an isolated set of behaviour in which the conflicts—between, for example, Indonesian and American or Burmese and Dutch value systems—may become frozen. This same recommendation applies to the composition of every type of team within a country, if the national level and rural communi-

ties are the focus of the planning, the inclusion as a third will similarly

count.

Second

of alphabets for unwritten languages methods of antiseptics or of sanitation etc. It is realized that the technologies and methods of modern science are themselves the outgrowth

concerned. Without this focus of modern science—this discontent with any except the scientific explanation that attempts to bring to all types of phenomena a scientific wholeness

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bility of invention in the world because the members of the new cultures who import and adopt the invention are prevented from making a contribution to its further development. If in order to use a certain type of machine it is necessary to adopt all the attitudes towards punctuality of Western factories and school systems absorbing this alien type of education may act selectively within the new culture so that only the deviant or only the obedient and frightened learn and the gifted and creative may turn away. An alien technology supported by forms of education and inter personal relations which are also alien is likely to separate the practitioner of the new skill from his cultural roots prevent the new practice from becoming integrated in the living habits of the mass of the people and produce populations who are confused and disoriented because they do not participate meaningfully in the new forms of their society. We see this happening every day in workers who emigrate from country to city from a peasant to an industrial country who learn to comply with the alien ritual of factory or clinic but who are themselves lost and disoriented.

Western trained professionals carry about with them an enormous amount of cultural baggage which could very well

patterns of the population there is instead an insistence upon ideas like three meals a day balance of the diet within 24 hours the importance of animal milk for infants and so the use of the findings of nutritional science is compromised and confused in other parts of the world. Sanitarians may impose the ideas of their own culture on the proprieties of age and sex standards of privacy or even introduce systems of behaviour which involve culturally special ideas about the whole process of digestion or which violate the trust of a particular

way to utilize a new set of food resources. In another culture  
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of seniors who have worked as foreigners in this country  
and with representatives from other countries with different  
types of practice—in making a new pattern which is congenial  
and meaningful to them as representatives of their own  
culture.

This model is such a procedure by which the end product  
is of particular



sense—in that it had been demonstrated to contain the necessary nutrients for human beings—into food in the cultural sense something that people would eat and be nourished by

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tro      =      part of the world to another the burden of the habits and beliefs of the people who developed a particular technique is heavy It will be necessary to set about stripping each practice down as well as building up training and development methods which permit each new culture which takes over a particular technique to contribute new patterns of use This means a style of analysis which asks of each procedure What is the scientifically essential the minimum core of this operation? In regard to a thermometer questions would be asked about size shape colour the use of the particular system of measurement the way normal was marked the preference for a method

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is the more obvious question of how an operation of a factory type should be set up in a society with entirely different patterns of human relations

But one of the great advantages of first stripping each technological change to the core of querying the most time-honoured accretions and practices is that the experts then genuinely need constructive thinking by members of the culture where they are going to work Because the situation is new no one can give them a recipe and usually the culturally workable answer can only be arrived at by experiment—with living human beings from the culture in question If a thermometer is not even to look like our thermometer then what is it to look like? If a factory is not a building with walls what is it? If dried beans are not bean soup what are they? The scene is then set for the participation of the members of the

ing techniques of the country to which change is being brought are in two ways with the local value system also important. So it may be found that agricultural practices are tied up with an image of the earth as a mother who gives food and is fed and an image of man tilling—by man's seed and fertilizer by the earth food for man—may be used for the new agricultural techniques.

### Third

When the particular values of a given culture are to be used as vehicles for change such a use should be planned and carried out by those who share the belief

in new values

masse of the people? These questions reveal a dilemma in which the secularized society asks how to face the—who does

to move the city from the modernizing sector of the population from another country of immigration agency. For men who have themselves believed in no God to search the Koran for a appropriate to support methods of preventing well pollution will, at best, limit his efficiency and make his commitment to the effort of educating a population pure water less wholehearted. At worst it introduces an element of manipulation into the operation which reduces the dignity of

those whose holy  
strings are pulled  
people themselves  
scriptures transform the new knowledge into a new expres-  
sion of an ancient and beloved revelation then the dangers of  
lack of spontaneity falseness manipulation and degradation  
are avoided

Careful attention to this principle of participation will also  
help to deal with one of the most serious dangers in the pur-  
posive introduction of new technologies among peoples who  
have newly come to trust in and desire the scientifically based  
achievements and values of the West Among such peoples a  
great mar-  
engineering  
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which  
to assume  
coats and  
brief cases to an insistence upon marriage for love and the  
disregard of traditional patterns of inter personal relations—is  
often an essential step in the particular path of modernization  
or Westernization on which they have determined or for  
which their own society has selected them But they are for  
this very reason seldom the appropriate persons to adapt the  
new practices to the traditions which are still shared by the  
masses of the people To the extent that they are committed to  
the new form of their society they will wish to bring their  
some new public health  
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First way of educating the people to take part in the work  
 which there is no such question as

### Fourth

As each culture is a whole however sorely torn at the moment—whole in the sense that it is the system by which and  
 the gap between

self-defeating in that it arouses violent resistances and  
 attempts to compensate and retaliation from those whose feelings

overall breadth and plumbing and devalue music and architecture  
 Those whose status is diminished have not may  
 come to repudiate the possibility of learning anything at all  
 which has when

We draw on a image in which two adults—one experienced  
 in one skill another a different skill—pool their knowledge  
 so that each the skill of the other for a particular task

who regard their young governments as institutions which must

be protected and cherished by the citizenry. A very little

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world—radar or psychoanalytic therapy—is still only part of a way of life to which others who are skilled in ways of life which have developed differently may be expected to contribute new insights. The sensitive application of a gadget or the rejection of some use to which it has callously been put, may be as great or even greater a contribution than the invention of the gadget itself.

### *Fifth*

Every effort should be made to design the introduction of measures to facilitate or compensate for or provide for benefits from technical change in such a way that the process is circular and all those involved at every level are able to participate and experience the changes as they occur.

One of the serious difficulties experienced by human beings who attempt to change the culture within which they live is that the very fact of planning itself makes it possible to force

This was vividly illustrated by an episode in which housing was planned at the national level and the architects anxious to conserve labour and materials (which meant massive savings when thousands of dwelling units were concerned in the plans) reduced the traditional space allotted to stairways only to find that they had built houses in which a coffin could not be carried down the stairs. Harassed housing managers had

to take accommodation between the dimensions of the houses  
 within them,  
 and the  
 unroofed

doorway

It is possible to say that in all old and habitual enterprises

taken

Two inventions which have been made in the last century  
 attempt to deal with these problems: the model or the pilot  
 project, and provision for feedback from an area where any

from the 15

what they themselves are doing. Their own behaviour is fed  
 back to them and becomes part of the planning process.

There are a variety of other ways in which the feedback  
 process can be elaborated so that, for example, no planning  
 conference is held without provision for the planners later  
 being fully informed of the outcome of their plans. Modern  
 methods of record keeping and monitoring processes can be tried

provision

In brief, if there is to be purposive change directed by those  
 with power and resources to introduce programmes of vast  
 scope with unprecedented speed so as to add 20 years to the  
 expectation of life within a single generation or alter the

be protected and cherished by the citizenry. A very little scrutiny if the whole culture is taken into account is enough

which have developed differently may be expected to contribute new insights. The rejection of some may be as great or even put, the invention of the gadget itself

### *Fifth*

Every effort should be made to design the introduction of measures to facilitate or compensate for or provide for benefits from technical change in such a way that the process is circular and all those involved at every level are able to participate and experience the changes as they occur.

One of the serious difficulties experienced by human beings who attempt to change the culture within which they live is

sonnet from outside the city

high housing  
its anxious

to conserve labour and materials (which meant massive savings when thousands of dwelling units were concerned in the plans) reduced the traditional space allotted to stairways only to find that they had built houses in which a coffin could

many of which populations are relentlessly

against the present rate of business growth, and at home for the added project needs for new kinds of personnel and begin to train them 10 years before the need develops.

Technical change then emerges as a way of stating a goal of cultural renewal as each group of people undertakes to utilize

## APPENDIX A

### THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

#### GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

November 24 October

tion.

The following text of the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 24 October 1945, is reproduced in its entirety.



level of literacy from 10 per cent to 90 per cent within a decade it is necessary to develop substitutes for experience so that people may learn in a few weeks what they once learned in a lifetime and yet learn it with all of the complexity of genuine human experience. Failure to provide such corrections carries automatic penalties for either the desired changes can not be carried out at all or methods of force and manipulation have to be used which while introducing a particular technology decrease the well being of the people as a whole.

### *Sixth*

In the choice  
whether techn  
of the whole

cussion is wasted over the relative desirability of using print or radio films or discussion groups cartoons or dramas practice or demonstration or illustration as ways of teaching new

lectual or purely aesthetic purely emotion or purely moralistic purely social or purely individual will necessarily restrict the area of involvement. Whether in a given culture films or group discussions will evoke a more whole participation in adults or children in the educated or the uneducated on week days or on a holy day are matters which have to be decided by experiment with the full participation of the particular popu

### *Seventh*

In order to preserve the process of change in each culture as a living one through which each generation of human beings increasingly is able to use the knowledge of every part of the

instability in the world and is in fact, a threat to peace. It has been recognized that accelerating the economic development in the less advanced areas is imperative from the standpoint of productivity.

the  
149  
ru-  
nity  
and  
ical  
"to

pool their technological resources, to help one another peoples

The Economic and Social Council took a number of steps to stimulate in the United Nations the development of facilities

among the factors that impeded the economic development of under-developed areas, appropriated funds to enable the Secretary-General co-operation with the Specialized Agencies

( ) to arrange for consultation of experts to advise Governments in connection with their economic development programmes.

United Nations Economic and Social Council E/1327/Add. 1

United States Department of State Policy 3719 P. 10 F

United Nations General Assembly A/64/Add. 1 Resolution 11 (I)

Id. & Resol. 33 (I)

The Economic and Social Council under the authority of

take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations to achieve these purposes

Greater development of all resources human and material was recognized as a prerequisite to the attainment of better

of economic development in less developed areas and of economic expansion in general

The less developed areas which are now generally referred to as economically under developed areas comprise the larger portion of the world North America and Western Europe whose peoples have mastered scientific techniques to control their environment improve their health and develop their production of material goods stand out in strong contrast to vast areas of South America Africa the Middle East and Asia where malnutrition and disease undermine the strength and shorten the life span of the predominantly agrarian and illiterate masses who for a number of geographic, cultural and historical political reasons do not benefit much or at all from the inventions of modern science and technology It has become increasingly clear that the wide gap between wealth and relative welfare ascribed to economic development in a few countries and grinding poverty in most of the others constitutes a basic source of economic and social

t p ct ce tol and l t g ther i pe with e an th r as good  
in t strength t m i ta i t r nati l pe d ecn ty a d

framework of the Expanded Programme The Assembly adopted these recommendations in November 1949 including the suggestion to convoke a conference on technical assistance in 1950 where funds equivalent to

#### Agencies

|                                                                  |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| United Nations                                                   | 23 per cent |
| Food and Agriculture Organization                                | 29 per cent |
| International Civil Aviation Organization                        | 1 per cent  |
| International Labour Organization                                | 11 per cent |
| United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization | 14 per cent |
| World Health Organization                                        | 22 per cent |

human toil and hardship It is further stated

In the discussion devoted to the objectives and nature of the Expanded Programme the passages below are noteworthy in

The effectiveness of more rapid economic development

United Nations Economic and Social Council E/1553 Resolution 221A (IX) Annex I

United Nations, General Assembly A/1251 Resolution 304 (IV) Referred to be also ibid Resolution 305 (IV) Resolution 306 (IV) Resolution 307 (IV) and Resolutions 308 (IV) paragraphs 4 and 10

United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/1527/Add. 1 and Add. 2

United Nations, Economic and Social Council, E/1527/Add. 1 pp 52 and 53

- (b) to arrange for facilities for the training abroad of experts of under-developed countries
- (c) to arrange for the training of local technicians within the under-developed countries and
- (d) to provide facilities designed to assist governments to obtain technical personnel equipment and supplies and to arrange for the organization of such services as may be appropriate in the promotion of economic development

the needs of the country concerned (4) be provided as far as possible in the form which that country desires and (5) be of high quality and technical competence

The Assembly simultaneously (a) requested the International Labour Organisation to examine in consultation with

countries which suffer from a lack of technicians and special

The announcement of the Point Four programme by the United States gave a strong impetus to further international action. In March 1949 the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary General in consultation with the Specialized Agencies and with due consideration to suggestions by Member Governments to prepare a report setting forth a comprehensive plan for an expanded programme of technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries. The Council recommended that this be done pay

framework of the Expanded Programme The Assembly adopted these recommendations in November 1949 including technical assistance

# Agencies

|                                                                  |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| United Nations                                                   | 23 per cent |
| Food and Agriculture Organization                                | 29 per cent |
| International Civil Aviation Organization                        | 1 per cent  |
| International Labour Organization                                | 11 per cent |
| United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization | 14 per cent |
| World Health Organization                                        | 22 per cent |

The close interrelationship between economic and social development is heavily stressed in the report prepared by the Secretary-General, mentioned earlier. It is stated therein that

"produce more and better food, clothing, shelter and the other necessities and amenities of life at a less heavy cost in human toil and hardship. It is further stated

Economic development is essential for the well-being of the people of the world.

In the same report, it is stated that

## Following

The Economic Commission for Africa, in its report on economic development, has recommended that the United Nations Economic and Social Council should adopt the following resolutions:

(IX) Annex I, United Nations, General Assembly A/1251, Resolution 304 (IV) relating to the proposed Resolution 305 (IV) Resolution 306 (IV) Resolution 307 (IV) and Resolution 308 (IV) and 4 and 10.

United Nations, Economic and Social Council E/1327/Add. 1 and Add. 2.

United Nations, Economic and Social Council E/1327/Add. 1, pp. 52 and 53.

- (b) to arrange for facilities for the training abroad of experts of under-developed countries
- (c) to arrange for the training of local technicians within the country
- (d) to provide technical assistance for the promotion of economic development.

Among the instructions to the Secretary General it was stipulated that the technical assistance furnished shall (1) not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and shall not be accompanied by any obligation on the part of the recipient country.

and (2) that country desires and (3) be of high quality and technical competence.

The Assembly simultaneously (a) requested the International Labour Organisation to examine in consultation with the United Nations the most appropriate arrangements for facilitating the admission to the world's centres of training for apprentices and technical workers of qualified persons from countries which suffer from a lack of technicians and specialists necessary to the development of their national economy and (b) resolved to establish an International Centre for Training in Public Administration mainly for candidates from countries in greatest need of access to principles, procedures and methods of modern administration.

The announcement of the Point Four programme by the United States gave a strong impetus to further international action. In March 1949 the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary General to coordinate the specialized Agencies and Member Government comprehensive plan for a four-year programme of technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries. The Council recommended that this be done in

And, finally among the points that establish the premises for the proposals by the United States there is a point clarifying the reference to 'questions of a social nature' to which the Economic and Social Council wished due attention to be given. The reference to 'questions of a social nature' in the Economic and Social Council resolution of 4 March 1949 is understood to mean that the programme must take account of (a) the probable consequences of proposed economic developments in terms of the welfare of the population at large (b) the social conditions, customs and values in a given area that will directly influence the kinds of economic development that may be feasible and desirable (c) the specific social improvements that may be necessary in order to permit effective economic developments (d) the social problems particularly problems of dislocation of family and community life, that may arise as concomitant of economic change. It is not

The United Nations therefore definitely envisaged that Under-developed countries may need assistance in analysing

## OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Each of the Specialized Agencies (see Chart, p. 315) in its

name has — — — — —

ILO (INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION)

Social justice is a pre-requisite for development. The ILO will promote

Ibid. p. 56



will require broad vision and sustained effort on the part of both the under-developed and the developed countries and on the part of Specialized Agencies Patterns of

1

Noting that the accumulation of capital and technical skills on the scale necessary for effective economic development are often possible especially in under developed countries only through governmental action the report states

the governments of these countries must take the necessary steps in the financial, technical and administrative fields to make necessary adaptations within manageable limits and to make necessary adaptations in the social institutions and practices of the developing countries

Among the prerequisites for the effectiveness of a technical assistance programme the following are mentioned: (a) practical approach (b) personnel (c) supplies and equipment and (d) community reference to (b) favourable environment it is stated in part

Any comprehensive programme of economic development will involve far reaching changes in the social and economic structure of an under-developed country

In some countries existing social institutions may hamper economic development and obsolete systems of land tenure may retard

the process of development and must be changed. These changes may be brought about by the introduction of new crops and new breeds of livestock and by the introduction of modern methods of soil cultivation and husbandry. These changes will often impose considerable psychological and social strains but those strains may be greatly eased and their duration shortened if an effort is made to make the economic development programme itself a part of the change which are necessary for its success as widely understood as possible among those whose interests are affected

will complement physical, mental, and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity

The aims of WHO are not only to further protective measures, such as the elimination of reservoirs of communicable diseases but also to promote measures toward positive health by means of public health education in the widest sense

Among the principles enunciated by Member States of WHO in its Charter the following are directly related to the social aspects of basic importance the

and social measures.

UNICEF (UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND)

— Co-operative

ICAO (INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION)

to peace

BANK (INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT)

— — — — —

FUND (INTERNATIONAL METEOROLOGICAL FUND)

Established for the purpose of consultation and co-operation on international meteorological problems, FUND like BANK, hopes to

United Nations WHO Circular pp 29-43

United Nations UNICEF

United Nations ICAO International Civil Aviation Conference Final Act and Related Documents

United Nations FUND and BANK Articles of Agreement

the regulation of the labour supply and week  
the prevention of unemployment

the protection of children and young persons and women  
protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own  
recognition of the principle of freedom of association  
the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures.

#### FAO (FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION)

Common welfare will be promoted by the FAO by means of action toward raising levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples

#### UNESCO (UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION)

The national

fulfill mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples  
popular education and the spread of culture  
maintenance increase and diffusion of knowledge

#### JURISDICTION

#### WHO (WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION)

Attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health is the principal objective of WHO and health is defined as a state

|                |                     |
|----------------|---------------------|
| United Nations | ILO Constitution    |
| United Nations | FAO Constitution    |
| United Nations | UNESCO Constitution |

the complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity

The aims of WHO are not only to further protective measures, such as the elimination of reservoirs of communicable diseases but also to promote measures towards positive health by means of public health education in the widest sense

Among the principles enunciated by Member States of WHO in its charter the following are directly relevant to the social aspects

Healthy development of the child is of basic importance the ability to learn harmlessly in a changing total environment is essential to such development.

Government has the responsibility for the health of the people but this can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures.

UNICEF (UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND)

~

ICAO (INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION)

The ...

BANK (INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT)

The International Bank was established "to assist in the reconstruction and development ..."

facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade which in turn would contribute to the maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of Member countries.

In addition to the above listed Specialized Agencies the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the Universal Postal Union (UPL) and the International Maritime Organization (IMO) may also be mentioned in such phases of technical assistance in their participation as the International Commission for the Protection of the Black Sea (IMCO) may also be mentioned in such phases of technical assistance.

## GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The Council

(

### OBSERVATIONS ON AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF AN EXPANDED PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Council recommends the following principles to serve as guides to the United Nations and Specialized Agencies participating in the expanded programme of technical assistance hereinafter called the participating organizations.

#### GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The participating organizations should in extending technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries

1. Regard it as a primary objective to help those countries to strengthen their national economies through the development of their industries and agriculture with a view to promoting their economic and political independence in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and to ensure the attainment of higher levels of economic and social welfare for their entire populations.
2. Observe the following general principles laid down in General Assembly Resolution 200 (III)
  - (a) Technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries

developed countries in which types technical services are required and which are designed to assist them in their economic development.

developed countries shall be rendered by the participating organizations only in agreement with the governments concerned and on the basis of requests received from them

- (b) The kinds of services to be rendered to a country shall be decided by the government of the country concerned
- (c) The countries deriving assistance should perform, in addition, such work as may be possible in order to define

- (d) a political and political environment in the country concerned and it be accompanied by any consideration of political nature
- (i) Be given only to a country through governments
- (ii) Be designed to meet the needs of the country concerned
- (i) Be provided in as far as possible in the form which the country desires

3 A distinction arising from the political structure of the country requesting assistance or from the race or religion of its population.

#### STANDARDS OF WORK AND PERSONNEL

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4 assignments undertaken such preparations should be designed to give a clear idea of the broad objectives of the commission and to encourage open-mindedness and adaptability
- 4 Experts and groups of experts visiting a country should not engage in political, commercial or any activities other than those for which they are sent. The scope of their duties should be strictly defined in each case by agreement between the country requesting assistance and the organizations providing assistance
- 5 When allocations are committed, projects should not be committed to less properly qualified experts and assistants have been secured and trained.
- 6 All governments should be invited to co-operate in the securing and selecting of qualified staff and to facilitate when necessary arrangements for their temporary relief and for their continued employment on return
- 7 Universities, technical schools, foundations, research institutions and other governmental or non-governmental organizations in which experts

## PARTICIPATION OF REQUESTING GOVERNMENTS

The requesting governments should be expected to agree

- 1 To facilitate the activities requested from the participating organizations by assisting them to obtain the necessary information about the problems on which they have been asked to help such information to be limited strictly to questions directly related to the concrete requests for technical assistance and whenever appropriate to facilitate their contacts with individuals and groups in addition to government agencies concerned with the same or related problems
- 2 To give full and prompt consideration to the technical advice they receive as a result of their co-operation with the participating organizations in response to the requests they have initiated
- 3 To undertake to maintain or set up as soon as practicable such governmental co-ordination machinery as may be needed to

4

- 5 To undertake the sustained efforts for economic development, including continuing support and progressive assumption of financial responsibility for the administration of projects initiated at their request under international auspices
- 6 To publish information or provide for study and analysis material suitable for publication regarding the results of the technical assistance rendered and the experience derived therefrom so that it may be of value to other countries and to the international organizations rendering technical assistance
- 7 To inform the participating organizations whenever technical assistance is requested of all assistance which they are already receiving or requesting from other sources in the same field of development
- 8 To give publicity to the programme within their countries.

## CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORT

- 1 The projects falling within the competence of participating organizations and the co-ordination between them should be such as to be suitable for the normal work.
- 2
- 3 Arrangements should be made for request for assistance within the sphere of two or more organizations to be handled jointly by the organizations concerned and there should be co-ordination among the participating organizations at the planning level before commitments by them are entered into with governments.

- 4 Technical assistance activities which relate to the present  
responsibility of Specialized Agency such

5

- 6 Programmes of training should be the subject of co-operative  
action among participating organizations

#### CO-OPERATION AND ECONOMY

With this wide range of activities envisaged the participating  
organizations should practice, especially in the national stages of  
the programmes, joint effort and economy. The participating  
organizations should also ensure the fullest use of any  
existing facilities

#### SELECTION OF PROJECTS

1. The participating organizations, in deciding a request for  
assistance should be guided by the Charter of the United  
Nations by the principles of the United Nations programme  
of technical assistance and by appropriate resolutions of the  
General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council.  
The services rendered should aim to increase productivity  
of man and his resources and to develop the potential

which directly affects the economic development. Requests for  
technical assistance may be approved which will help  
overcome the technical aspects of the problems concerning  
proposed projects for economic development in terms of the  
interest of the population as well as in the promotion

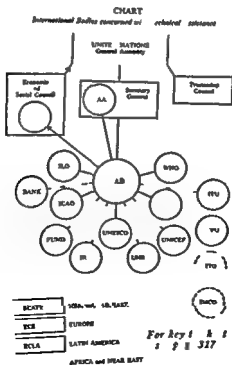
permut economic development to mitigate the social prob-  
lems—particularly problems of distribution of family income  
and living standards—may rise in connection with economic  
change. As in any technical programme for economic develop-  
ment an effort should be made to



- 2 The participating organizations when reviewing and placing in order of priority the requests which they receive should so far as possible ensure that due regard is paid to the urgency of the needs of the various applicants and to their geographical distribution
- 3 In response to requests from governments especially in connexion with plans for economic development special consideration should be given to resources and methods of financing the development It is recommended therefore that participating organizations before undertaking work of an extensive character involving substantial cost should assure themselves that governments requesting such assistance are giving full consideration to major capital investment or large continued governmental expenditure which may be needed as a result of this

4

of technical assistance



## KEY TO CHART

### INTERNATIONAL BODIES CONCERNED WITH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

On this chart the *solid circles* represent *actively or potentially* concerned with the implementation of technical assistance. *Basic units* are linked by *solid lines*. *Circle sizes* indicate *functioning units*. *Partial circles* represent *listers*.

### ABBREVIATIONS

United Nations Specialized Agencies and International Organizations

BANK International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
FAO Food and Agriculture Organization  
FUND International Monetary Fund  
ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization  
ILO International Labour Organization

ral

Organization

UNICEF United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

UPH Universal Postal Union

WHO World Health Organization

United Nations Board of Economic and Social Affairs

TAA Technical Assistance Administration (UN)

TAB Technical Assistance Board

TAC Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council

nc l

## EXPLANATORY REMARKS

Edmon

Specialized Agencies are listed as *solid circles* of type that *out*  
of the competent *functioning* Specialized Agency. The  
BANK and FUND which have *solid circles* of their own, are *par*

participating members of TAB UNICEF an independent organiza-  
 tion concerned with technical assistance projects in connexion  
 with the United Nations and could be of old international  
 IMCO The regularly meeting Council for the Pacific  
 Commission

## Commissions

# ORGANIZATION AND DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS

how the various technical assistance functions among the fields of as-  
 technical assistance may or may be rendered The fields of as-  
 sistence are divided as follows

## UNITED NATIONS

### General Economic Development

region including organizational and

### Industrial Development

development of new industries

and flood-control planning, construction and operation of  
 installations  
 Power plant construction and operation transmission and dis-  
 tribution industrial urban and rural  
 Appraisal of mineral resources, including geological geophysical  
 and other techniques of location  
 Extractive industries mining and milling  
 Metallurgical techniques and processes  
 Manufacturing industries processing and fabrication efficiency  
 of production and distribution of output  
 Industrial organization and management

# Transport

Appraisal of the potentialities of various means of transport in relation to needs and possibilities

Road transport

Railroad transport

Inland water transport

Shipping

## Public Finance and Fiscal Policy

Fiscal administration and management

Budgeting and financial reporting

Road administration and policy

Public administration

Fiscal machinery for development projects

## Statistics

Statistical operation (collection, compilation and presentation) in relation to economic development, such fields as census work and trade, production, national income, transport and price statistics

## Public Administration

Organization and co-ordination of central and local administration services

Standardization of administrative procedures

Personnel selection and training

## Social Welfare and Development

Social development policy

drug addiction, treatment of minorities and foreign populations, and physically handicapped  
Community family and child welfare

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

The relation of economic development policies to labour force and employment

Employment, training and migration

Industrial relations including machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes

Industrial safety

Occupational health

Enforcement of labour legislation and labour inspection

Employment problems of women and young workers

Development of labour statistics

Social security

Wages policy : systems of wages payment machinery for the  
determination of minimum rates

Co-operation and handicrafts

— 1 — structure

|  
|

## FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Agriculture (including irrigation soil management farm ma-  
chinery crop production insect-control animal breeding and  
diseases agricultural research institutes)Forestry and forest products (including conservation marketing  
and industrial utilization of timber)

Fisheries

Nutrition (in collaboration with World Health Organization)

Rural institutions and services (including extension services rural  
industries and amenities co-operatives)Economic and statistical services (including credit, insurance and  
marketing in agriculture forestry and fisheries)UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL  
ORGANIZATION

Technical education

Elementary education

Fundamental and adult education

1

|

1 United Nations

## INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Organization of national civil aviation departments

Economic and technical surveys to ascertain civil aviation require-  
mentsDesign construction and installations of air navigation facilities  
and airportsOrganization of air traffic control aeronautical communications  
and radio aids in navigation flight operations aeronautical  
meteorology and other ancillary services required by civil aviation

Air transport organization and administration

Training in all branches of civil aviation

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Malaria  
Venereal diseases  
Tuberculosis

... of ... cholera, typhus, schisto-

1

Maternal and child health  
Social and occupational health  
Health education of the public  
Nutrition  
Mental health  
Health statistics  
Antibiotic and insecticide production

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

... .. ing in  
... .. treat

to pro-

... .. ductive investment  
Advice on other important development problems

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

... ..

... .. health. An advisory mission requested by a national government to survey needs and assist in the formation of an economic development programme may be composed of representatives of the United Nations and of one or more of the



Assistance in training to help under-developed countries in building up a domestic corps of technical and specialized personnel take the form of fellowships and scholarships made available by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies to government approved candidates from these countries as well as local seminars and training courses given within a country. Training institutes and seminars are also being established on a regional basis such as for example the Latin American Training Center for Agricultural Statistics in Costa Rica, or the Training Institute on Economic Appraisal for Development Projects at Lahore Pakistan which was attended by members from various countries of South Asia.

Demonstration projects intended to serve as models to show how advanced techniques can be beneficially adapted and applied to the special needs and circumstances of underdeveloped countries simultaneously serve as aids in technical training and offer local personnel opportunities for practical experience. These demonstration projects are also vehicles for spreading knowledge among the population about the nature and application of new technological methods.

Development and dissemination of technical information is furthered by practically all United Nations organizations concerned with technical assistance by means of publication and sometimes by reference services. They also further scientific research in their special fields and in the organization of conferences on technical subjects.

Experimental pilot plants to ascertain the type of equipment and processes most suitable for local needs and conditions, a suitable raw materials and other resources have been envisaged as one of the means of furthering industrial development in under-developed countries.

Technical equipment and supplies needed for carrying out technical assistance projects are furnished by the organizations rendering technical assistance at their expense but only as an integral part of the project. In problems of major capital investments a large continuing governmental expenditures which may be needed for the continuance and further development of projects that could be initiated by technical assistance experts are not in general considered and conditions of financing such projects can be obtained from organizations like BANK and FUND.

## PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION

The co-ordination of technical assistance for any one country requires at least three planning centres each of these conditions should be met unless the property of the state is that it is controlled by the government.





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## PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION

The co-ordination of technical assistance for any one country requires at least three planning centres each of these conditions. Such equipment in the property of the government and technical assistance less until it is handed to the government.



the United States technical co-operation programme from a regional organization or a programme furthered by a private foundation—the problems of correlation become more complex. Much depends on the degree of liaison and agreement between the organizations involved the degree of co-operation which develops between the representatives of the respective national governments which the national government

introduced by the technical experts or teams of experts, and

frustration.

Each Specialized Agency has its own programme-planning procedures (which in some cases are under constant revision) within the limitations of its budget, and must consider each request for technical assistance in relation to other requests, the availability of resources and personnel and a variety of other factors. In considering a project for a given country the agency is concerned with the relation of that project to the wider field of its specialization as developed in that country. For example the entire field of public health and the manner of the administration of a programme must be considered by WHO when a specific project, such as one concerned with maternal and child health or one for the prevention of venereal diseases is involved. Likewise any FAO project aimed at the intensification of crop production may immediately pose questions about the adequacy of storage and marketing facilities of farm credits or developing resettlement schemes etc. The interdependence of these and similar elements and the fact that many of them directly or indirectly may require external financing—which may not be immediately feasible—renders the problems of co-ordination integration and articulation very complex.

Finally the central international technical assistance unit, TAB where programmes are reviewed and major projects are approved stresses co-ordination between the different Specialized Agencies and liaison with other organizations whether



stetness, preventive medicine etc. Such changes are bound to alter the "way of life" of the group the relations between parents and children, the hierarchy of authority the acquisition of status and prestige etc. These are precisely aspects of existence which are important for personality development and which give to individuals their feelings of happiness or security respectively. No pro-

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depended in the past.

There are many examples of both successful and unsuccessful trends of changes in these and other respects. A collection of such examples should serve a useful purpose as a guide to those who will be responsible for future innovations in the life of so-called underdeveloped peoples.

The Project It is proposed therefore to prepare a manual or guide utilizing existing source material which is at present



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